

A Grammar of Pévé

Grammars and Sketches of the World's Languages

Africa

Editor

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal
(*University of Cologne*)

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/gswl

A Grammar of Pévé

By

Erin Shay

In collaboration with

Lazare Wambadang



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2019036322>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2352-9342

ISBN 978-90-04-40915-6 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-41005-3 (e-book)

Copyright 2020 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

	Acknowledgments	XI
	List of Tables	XII
	Abbreviations	XIII
1	The Pévé Language	1
1	Introduction	1
2	Classification and Nomenclature	1
3	Existing Works on the Pévé Language	7
4	Nature and Sources of the Data	9
5	Notes on the Transcription	9
6	Outline of the Grammar	12
3	Conclusion	22
2	Phonology	29
1	Introduction	29
2	Consonants	29
3	Vowels	38
4	Phonotactics	44
5	Tone	49
6	Conclusion	52
3	Parsing Morphology	54
1	Introduction	54
2	Existing Approaches	54
3	Distribution of Phrase-Final Forms	56
4	Function of Final Vowel Addition	61
5	Conclusion	65
4	Verbs	66
1	Introduction	66
2	Phonological Structure of the Verb	66
3	Morphology	67
4	Derivation	70
5	Singular vs. Plural Verbs	74
6	Conclusion	76

5	Nouns and the Noun Phrase	77
1	Introduction	77
2	Phonological Structure of the Noun	78
3	Number	78
4	Noun Phrase	80
5	Prenominal Modifiers	80
6	Post-nominal Modifiers	83
7	Conjoined Noun Phrase	97
8	Proper Names	98
9	Derived Nouns	99
10	Conclusion	102
6	Coding Grammatical Relations	103
1	Introduction	103
2	Subject	104
3	Direct Object Function	111
4	Indirect Object	117
5	Summary of the Coding of Grammatical Roles	122
6	Conclusion	125
7	Coding Semantic Relations	126
1	Introduction	126
2	Semantic Role of the Subject	126
3	Semantic Role of the Direct Object	130
4	Semantic Role of the Indirect Object	130
5	Source	134
6	Reciprocal	135
7	Coreferentiality of Subject and Object	136
8	Conclusion	137
8	Tense and Aspect	138
1	Introduction	138
2	Future Tense	139
3	Aspect	141
4	Conclusion	156
9	Mood and Modality	157
1	Introduction	157
2	Subjunctive Mood	158
3	Epistemic Mood	168
4	Conclusion	175

10	Locative Expressions and Locative Predications	176
1	Introduction	176
2	Locative Predication in Pévé	177
3	Semantic Functions of Inherently Locative Predicates	179
4	Locative Serial Verb Constructions	185
5	Spatial Prepositions and Specifiers	189
6	Conclusion	193
11	Verbless and Copular Predications	195
1	Introduction	195
2	Identificational Predication	195
3	Equational Predication	197
4	Attributive Predication	201
5	Possessive Predication	204
6	Conclusion	205
12	System of Reference	206
1	Introduction	206
2	First Mention: Bare Noun Phrase	206
3	Deducible Reference Markers: <i>nə</i> , <i>rə</i> and <i>kunə</i>	208
4	Reference to an Unspecified Entity	212
5	Anaphoric Reference	214
6	Deictic Reference	221
7	Conclusion	225
13	Interrogatives	226
1	Introduction	226
2	Polar Questions	226
3	Content Questions	228
4	Conclusion	235
14	Negation	236
1	Introduction	236
2	Indicative Clauses	236
3	Scope of Negation	240
4	Conclusion	240
15	Topicalization and Focus	241
1	Introduction	241
2	Topicalization	241

3	Focus	243
4	Conclusion	246
16	Conjoined Clauses	247
1	Introduction	247
2	Conjunction <i>bay</i>	247
3	Counterexpectation	249
4	Conclusion	250
17	Relative Clauses	251
1	Introduction	251
2	Subject Head	251
3	Object Head	254
4	Adjunct Head	256
5	Deictic Relative Clauses	257
6	Conclusion	258
18	Conditional and Temporal Constructions	259
1	Introduction	259
2	Conditional Constructions	259
3	Temporal Constructions	263
4	Conclusion	266
19	Complementation	268
1	Introduction	268
2	Verbs of Saying	268
3	Verbs of Perception	282
4	Verbs of Cognition	284
5	Volitional Verb <i>wàʔ</i>	286
6	Ability Verb <i>gàk</i> 'Can, Be Able'	288
7	Counterfactual Matrix Clause	290
8	Complements of Other Verbs	292
9	Conclusion	295
20	Comparative Constructions	296
1	Introduction	296
2	Equal Comparison	296
3	Unequal Comparison	297
4	Conclusion	299

21	Adjunct Phrases and Clauses	300
1	Introduction	300
2	Temporal Adjuncts	300
3	Associative and Instrumental Adjuncts	305
4	Manner Adjuncts	307
5	Intensity, Repetition, and Recurrence	309
6	Purpose Clauses	315
7	Reason Clauses	316
8	Positive Adjunct	316
9	Conclusion	318
22	Sample Texts	319
1	Monitor Lizard and Guinea Fowl	319
2	Bus Trip: Lazare Wambadang	324
	Appendix 1: A Compilation of Tables	327
	Appendix 2: A Summary of Morphological Forms and Functions	330
	Pévé-English Lexicon	332
	English-Pévé Lexicon	344
	References	354
	Index	358

Acknowledgments

I am extremely grateful to Lazare Wambadang, a native speaker of Pévé who is also fluent in French and English and without whom the present project could not have been accomplished. Wambadang has selflessly devoted a great amount of time and energy to describing and analyzing Pévé and creating the present volume, and his enthusiasm has been an important part of the project. I am also grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies, which provided significant financial support for the project. I sincerely thank Henry Tourneux, who provided essential logistical and personal support before and during the fieldwork; Venasius Lendzemo and Noë Woin of the Institut de Recherche Agricole pour le Développement (IRAD) in Cameroon, who also provided logistical support for the fieldwork; Rodney Venberg, who has very generously shared his own work on Pévé and provided many helpful comments regarding the present work; the kind and supportive staff at Le Relais de la Porte Mayo in Maroua; and Zygmunt Frajzyngier, whose assistance was crucial before, during, and after the fieldwork and who provided much thoughtful and detailed advice concerning the present work. Praat software (<http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>) was extremely useful for analyzing tone in the texts that are the basis of the grammatical analysis. I also thank the publisher's reviewer for useful questions and suggestions concerning the document, all of which have been taken into account in the final version.

I greatly admire the Pévé people for striving to maintain their language and culture through peaceful measures despite social, political and changes of a kind that have led to the loss of languages over centuries and across the world. I sincerely hope that the present volume will be of use to native and non-native speakers of Pévé and to speakers of languages that are related to, or have been in contact with, the Pévé language. Because collaborator Wambadang is a native speaker of Pévé, any errors in the transcription, translation or analysis of Pévé are mine.

Tables

1	Pévé vs. Lamé subject pronouns	8
2	Phonemic segments in Pévé	30
3	Phonetic segments in Pévé	31
4	Phonemic vowels in Pévé	39
5	Possessive pronouns	91
6	Indicative subject pronouns	108
7	Subjunctive (SBJV) subject pronouns vs. indicative subject pronouns	110
8	Perfective/subjunctive object pronouns (termed 'perfective', for simplicity)	113
9	Non-perfective object pronouns	115
10	Pronoun chart	123
11	Summary of coding means for grammatical relations	124
12	Pronouns used in subjunctive clauses vs. indicative clauses	159

Abbreviations

A	Aspect
ADD	Addressee; form of address
ADJ, Adj	Adjective
ADP	Adposition
AGT	Agent (<i>nomen agentis</i>)
alien.	alienable
alt.	alternative form
Ar.	Arabic
ASSC	Associative
ASSERT	assertive
borr.	borrowing
C	Consonant
CF	Counterfactual
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
corr.	correction
DEM	Demonstrative
DED	Deducible reference marker
dial.	Dialect(al)
DIST	Distal
EMPH	Emphasis
Eng.	English
F, f., fem.	Feminine
FOC	Focus
Fr.	French
Ful.	Fula/Fulani/Fulfulde (Niger-Congo language)
FUT	Future
FV	(Phrase-)final vowel
Giz.	Giziga (Central Chadic language)
IDEO	Ideophone
IMPER	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective
I.PRO	Impersonal pronoun
inalien.	inalienable
INAN	Inanimate

INDIC	Indicative
INTENS	Intensifier
INTERJ	Interjection
INTERR	Interrogative marker
IO	Indirect object
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
intrans.	intransitive
lit.	literal(ly)
M, m., masc.	Masculine
Mun.	Mundang (Niger-Congo language)
N	Noun
n/a	not applicable
NEG	Negative
NUM	Numeral
O	Object
OBLIG	Obligation
ONO	Onomatopoeia
OP	Object of a preposition
PART	Particle
PERF	Perfective
PERM	Permission
PL, pl.	Plural
POS	Positive
POSS	Possessor, possessive
POST	Post-relative marker
PREP	Preposition
PRO, pro	Pronoun
PROG	Progressive aspect
PROM	Promise
PROX	Proximal
redup.	reduplication
REL	Relative marker
rep.	repetition
RES	Resumptive pronoun
Q	Question; interrogative marker
QUANT	Quantifier
S, subj.	Subject
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG, sg	Singular
SVC	Serial verb construction

TEMP	Temporal marker
T	Tense
T/A	Marker of tense and/or aspect
trans.	transitive
V	Verb; vowel

The Pévé Language

1 Introduction

The present volume is the first full description of the grammar of Pévé, a Chadic language spoken in parts of the southwestern area of the Republic of Chad and the Northern province of the Republic of Cameroon. Data for this volume were gathered in the course of fieldwork in Cameroon during the summer of 2012 and supplemented by additional data gathered from native speakers. The present volume also draws on the works of Rodney Venberg, Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Michka Sachnine for additional and comparative data (section 3, below).

2 Classification and Nomenclature

The classification and nomenclature of Pévé has been subject to much discussion both within and outside of the world of descriptive linguistics. Section 2.1 below summarizes past and existing approaches, while Section 2.2 describes more recent discussions and findings.

2.1 *Existing Approaches to Classification and Nomenclature*

With respect to the name and classification of the Pévé language, there are considerable differences of opinion among linguists and native speakers of languages spoken in the area. According to Ethnologue, Pévé is a member of the Masa branch of the Chadic family, a branch that also includes Herdé, Marba, Masana, Mesmé, Musey, Ngeté, and Zumaya (<https://www.ethnologue.com/language/lme>). Languages referred to in Ethnologue as Pévé dialects include Lamé, Doe (also called Doué, Duwoi, or Duwai), and Dari. Also according to Ethnologue, the name Zimé is used by outsiders to refer to the languages of Herdé, Ngeté, Pévé, and Mesmé. Alternative names listed by Ethnologue for Pévé are Kado, Kaʔdo Pévé (both pejorative; see section 2.2 below), Lamé and Zimé. Newman (2013 and elsewhere) also places Pévé in the Masa branch and labels Pévé, Lamé, and Dari as dialects of Zimé. Sachnine's works (1976, 1978, 1982) equate the name Lamé with Zimé and Vún Dzəpàò (literally 'mouth of Dzəpao'), also referred to as Dzəbao, Djipa, Dzəbao, Djibao, Dzibaw, or Jibaw. These works also identify Pévé, Dari, and Dzəbao as dialects of Lamé. Sach-

nine 1982 states (as does Jungraithmayr 1978) that Pév  and Lam  belong to a larger language group called Zim . Jungraithmayr 1978 analyzes P    as a member of a ‘Zime dialect cluster’, whose other dialects are said to include Dari, Herd , and Nget , all of which are listed in Ethnologue as dialects of P   . Jungraithmayr also includes Mesm  (considered by Ethnologue to be a distinct language) in this cluster, along with several other dialects or languages. In this approach, ‘P    proper’ is broken down into the dialects Lam , Dou , Bisi (also Bissi or Bissa) Keda, and Badj . Jungraithmayr 1978 states that some speakers within the Zim  cluster accept being called ‘Kad ’ or ‘Ga   ’ (‘pagan’ in Fulfulde (Niger-Congo)). Some P    speakers accept the use of Lam  to refer to the P    language while also asserting that Lam  is a place and not a language. According to Venberg 1975, the large Mundang population uses the term ‘Lam ’ in reference to both the P    language and the people who speak it. This is complicated by the fact that many speakers of other languages in the area, e.g. the Bibemi of Cameroon, also call themselves Lam , though their primary language is Mambai (Niger-Congo). The same is true for many speakers of Mundang.

2.2 *The Current Approach*

Native speakers of P    do not necessarily agree with the nomenclature or classification of the P    language as described in section 2.1. According to native P    speaker and collaborator Lazare Wambadang, Sachnine’s use of the term Lam  to refer to V    Dz bao reflects the fact that speakers of P    and Dzebao in Cameroon accept the term Lam  to refer to their respective languages (Sachnine 1982). In a region inhabited by Dzebao, including the villages of Dzebao, Gor, Ganmbour, Madingring, and others, speakers will state that they are Lam  speakers, while recognizing that there is a difference between the dialect of P    and their own dialect, namely Dzebao. The Ethnologue list of alternative names for P   , which includes Kado, Ka    P    (both pejorative), Lam , and Zim , does not reflect the current state of affairs. Ka    is a derogatory term used by Herd  speakers in referring to P   . The P    people do not accept the name Zim  as their own, since Zim  is a language they don’t understand and a culture whose customs they don’t share. The Zim  (Herd ) of Chad do not want to be termed Lam  because this would lead to classification with the Canton Lam  even though their own canton is Canton Herd . Despite this opposition, a princess of the Chief of Canton Lam  (therefore P   ) is married to the current head of Canton de Herd . In any case, Ethnologue has not identified a dialect that is neither P    nor V    Dzebao, much less Herd  or simply Zim .

Wambadang’s studies show that none of the classifications adopted in previous linguistic works fully captures the historical and linguistic relationships among P    speakers and speakers of neighboring and/or related languages.

The Pévé culture is historically semi-nomadic, with the population circling through the Pévé regions in both Cameroon and Chad according to the season. Most Pévé people support themselves through hunting, farming, and ranching. Much hunting is conducted in the Réserve Forestière et Animalière de la Bouba-Ndjida, a forest and animal preserve in the Northern province of Cameroon, bordering on Chad. According to Wambadang, the areas of Chad and Cameroon where Pévé is spoken can be divided into three zones: The Pévé zone, to the north and west of the Bouba-Ndjida reserve and encompassing parts of both Cameroon and Chad; the Dzəbao zone, to the south and east of the reserve and also extending into both Cameroon and Chad; and the Herdé zone, to the northeast of the reserve and within the borders of Chad (see section 2.3). The Pévé zone is the most populated of the three zones in Chad. Speakers throughout the three zones have long been in contact with the unrelated languages Mundang (Niger-Congo), Fulfulde (Niger-Congo; also called Fula, Fulbe or Fulani), and French (via Mundang). Herdé, identified by Ethnologue as a Pévé dialect, is in Wambadang's view a pidgin variety of Pévé, as is Dzəbao. The other component of the pidgins is Mesmé, like Pévé a member of the Masa branch of Chadic, which is chiefly spoken to the east of the Pévé zone (see Fischer 1980). Wambadang identifies Gumadji (the name of a village in Chad, also known as Gumaji or Goumadji) as a dialect similar to both Herdé and Dzəbao. The village where Gumadji is spoken is close to Herdé, and Dzəbao tends to be confused with both dialects (see further discussion below).

Wambadang considers Pévé, Dari, and Doué to be mutually comprehensible dialects of the same language. The differences between Dari and Pévé lie primarily in tone, and even child speakers of the two dialects can understand each other. The Dari dialect, named after the Dari village in southwestern Chad, is spoken in the villages of Sinassi and Vaimba in North Cameroon, which neighbor on the Bouba-Ndjida reserve and are not far from the village of Djibao, the site of Sachnine's research. The Dari village in Chad is the dwelling place of the traditional and administrative chief of the Canton Dari, itself a member of the sub-prefecture of Lamé. Lamé is both a town name and the name of the most widely spoken language in the area. One point of confusion is that the town of Lamé also happens to be the center of Pévé leadership (*chefferie*), whose leader (*chef supérieur*) lives in Lamé and speaks Pévé.

Cooper 1984, an adaptation of Sachnine 1982, volume 2, that focuses on the Dari dialect, shows considerable overlap between the Dari and Pévé lexicons. The most significant difference between the two dialects is that tone in Dari carries a variety of grammatical functions, such as future tense, imperfective aspect, the locative function and the modifying function, while the same functions in Pévé are marked by free grammatical morphemes and the relative order

of constituents. The two dialects remain mutually understandable, with the chief difference being the functions of tone.

A further complication in the nomenclature is that Pévé is not just the name of a language and a tribe but is also the name of a clan within the Pévé tribe. Certain clans are excluded from the Pévé tribe even though the clan members are speakers of Pévé. There are five major Pévé clans: *daw wāy* ('children of Wāy'), to which Wambadang belongs; *daw tau* ('children of Tau'); *daw kəḏa* ('children of Kəḏa'); *daw djudjoa* ('children of Djudjoa'), the family of the current grand chief; and *daw fəta* ('children of Fəta'). Jwə Lawtu, the chief of the clan *daw djudjoa*, died in February 2016, and his son has since been chosen as chief. The chieftdom cycles from one clan to the next in the order shown above, depending on the chief's performance and the availability of a successor. If a chief is found to be irresponsible, the chieftdom may be passed to the next clan in line. Clan membership is handed down through the paternal line, and no woman can serve as a chief. If a chief is deemed to be a good leader, the next chieftdom will be handed down to his son. If the deceased chief does not have a grown son or any son at all, the chieftdom will go to the chief's brother. Members of clans outside of the five listed above have no chance at being chief, but they are allowed to perform Pévé cultural practices such as circumcision (see below) and may also serve as courtiers to the chief. For more on the history of the Pévé chieftdom in Lamé, see Lami 1930–1940.

The primary cultural distinctions among Pévé and other clans, as well as other tribes, include whether or not circumcision is required, whether or not polygamy is allowed, and whether or not there is intermarriage between clans and tribes. Circumcision is an important part of the Pévé culture, which holds the belief that without circumcision a man is impure. The Pévé also practice polygamy, with no limit to the number of wives a man may have. Traditionally, the more wives a man has the more important he is, but this is starting to change, in part because the required dowry or 'bride price' has risen over time. In the old days a bride could be purchased with five or six cattle, but with the advent of European influence and wider commerce the price is much higher and is paid with more cattle, cash, goats, food, and beer.

As stated above, Lamé is classified in Ethnologue as a dialect of Pévé. The term Lamé likely has its origin in the unrelated Fulfulde language, spoken by the nomadic Fulani people from the Middle-East and North Africa who helped spread Islam throughout western and parts of central Africa from 900 to 1900 A.D. According to oral history shared by Pévé elders and confirmed in Abdoullaye and Eldridge 1979, the word Lamé is derived from the word *laami*, the past-tense form of the Fulfulde verb *laamugo* 'reign, be in the throne'. The Fulani people are said to have used the term *be laami* 'they already have a chief-

dom' upon arriving in the Pévé area, indicating that they found the Pévé chiefdom to be well structured. This would explain why the capital of the Pévé area now bears the name Lamé, though it was once called Pévé. It is said that at one time there were only two chiefdoms in the area: the chiefdom of Pévé in Lamé and the Fulani chiefdom of Yola, now part of the Adamawa state in Nigeria. It is possible that other chiefdoms existed but were less structured than those of the Pévé and Fulani peoples, and it is also possible that the notion of only two chiefdoms was promoted by the Fulani who came from Yola along with Islam. In the past, the Pévé people, called Lamé by the Fulani, viewed themselves as more independent than other communities because of their well-organized chiefdom and the practice of circumcision.

Despite the lack of a genetic linguistic relationship, the Pévé and Mundang peoples have many things in common, including shared clans and shared chiefs as well as intermarriage between Pévé and Mundang (Wambadang's wife is Mundang). Pévé and Mundang also share some linguistic features, probably due to centuries of language contact. These features include many lexical items and the use of high tone on the verb as a means of coding perfective aspect.

Pévé also shares lexical items with related Chadic languages spoken near the Pévé region. For example, Pévé and Masa have a number of similar basic lexical items, e.g. *ku* 'fire' in Pévé vs. *kuda* in Masa (transcribed as *kù* in Melis 1999: 178); and *fun* 'food, boule' (a common type of bread in Africa) in Pévé vs. *funa* 'boule' in Masa (transcribed as *fū* in Melis 1999: 101). However, speakers of the two languages are culturally distant and intermarriage is rare. In Wambadang's view the Pévé dialects Herdé and Dzəbao are closer to Mesmé than to Pévé.

According to recent surveys conducted by Wambadang and colleagues, the current number of Pévé speakers in Chad and Cameroon is 80,000 or more. While many Pévé have crossed the border from Chad into Cameroon since the 1980s due to the war in Chad and the development of cotton cultivation in Cameroon, the Pévé population in both countries is thriving. The border between Chad and Cameroon is open, and efforts by Wambadang and others to unite Pévé speakers from both countries continue to be successful (see below).

In oral history the name 'Pévé' is said to stem from the noun *pé* 'valley', possibly referring to the Marrakesh valley of Morocco, and the Pévé verb *ve*, which has the meaning 'to take, to grab' and also the meaning 'to convene, to get along well'. One possible historical account is that the Pévé people were long ago chased away from the Nile region, where the Pévé culture may have originated, and forced to emigrate to Marrakesh, where they were taken in by the Fulani people because the two cultures got along very well. Another account is that the Pévé people 'grabbed' (*vé*) some of the Fulani people of Marrakesh and brought them back to the Pévé region.

The origins of the Pévé culture long predate the borderline between the republics of Chad and Cameroon. With the drawing of borderlines between the two countries, Pévé people living in Cameroon came to think of themselves as lower class, and some Pévé living in the Republic of Chad cannot accept that there are in fact Pévé people in Cameroon.

One piece of evidence for the link between Pévé and Lamé is that Wambadang, a native Pévé whose father is the official 'guardian of tradition' for the Pévé tribe, has been asked to serve as president of the *Comité pour le Promotion de la Langue et de la Culture Lamé* (CPLCL). The CPLCL uses the term 'Lamé' to draw together speakers of Pévé, Herdé, Dzəbao, and Gumadji so that they may share their traditions and cultural customs, including dancing and artwork. In April 2015, the CPLCL festival of arts and culture held in the town of Pala, Chad, brought together more than 30,000 Pévé participants. Grouping together under the name Lamé is accepted by speakers of Pévé, Herdé, Dzəbao, and Gumadji in Cameroon, but in Chad it is accepted only by speakers of Pévé. In Chad, speakers of Herdé, Gumadji and Dzəbao prefer to be grouped together as speakers of Zimé, a term that has been categorically refused by the Pévé. There appears to be no agreement between speakers of Pévé on the one hand and speakers of Herdé, Dzəbao, and Gumadji on the other. Pévé speakers call speakers of the other three dialects 'Laka', a pejorative term. These speakers in turn call Pévé speakers 'Mundang', which Pévé speakers find annoying. The CPLCL, which operates in both Cameroon and Chad, has been hampered by this name problem. At the cultural festival held in Lamé, Chad, in late April-early May 2010 the problem was debated but without a solution. Pévé people in Chad were annoyed by the term Zimé, while Herdé and Dzəbao speakers in Chad were annoyed by the name Lamé. The debate to find another name for the association represented by CPLCL continues in Chad.

Wambadang has also been instrumental in encouraging radio stations in the Northern Province of Cameroon to broadcast information in Pévé in an effort to rejoin Pévé speakers in Cameroon with Pévé speakers in Chad, in accordance with the slogan '*Le Pévé existe; la frontière n'existe pas.*' As of 2005 a radio station in Garoua has been sending out Pévé-language broadcasts every weekday, usually containing information about health, education, the economy, and agriculture. Four other radio stations also have programs in Pévé, namely Salaman (or Sala'aman) radio (Garoua), Radio vie et développement (Tcholliré), Radio Bon berger (Bibemi), and Radio Community (Rey-Bouba). One important effect of such broadcasts has been a drop in the incidence of cholera in northern Cameroon, thanks to Pévé-language broadcasts about the importance of washing one's hands before eating.

2.3 *Where Pévé is Spoken*

As shown in section 2.2 (above), there is considerable overlap among areas in which Pévé is the primary language and areas in which Pévé is spoken but is not the primary language. In Map 1 (p. 24), the area outlined in green constitutes the area in which the majority of residents are speakers of Pévé. The map, provided by <http://zime.free.fr/intro.htm>, is based on information gathered before the year 2000. For social, political, economic and other reasons, some villages on the map have disappeared while new villages have evolved. Due to migration and the intermingling of different peoples, cultures and ideas, the Pévé area is also occupied by speakers of Mundang, Fulbe (Fulani), and Zimé, many of whom also speak Pévé.

3 Existing Works on the Pévé Language

Rodney Venberg, a Lutheran pastor and missionary who spent 18 years living among the Pévé people and spent a total of 31 years in the republics of Chad and Cameroon, has made important contributions towards describing the Pévé language. Prior to Venberg's arrival in 1966 there was no writing system for Pévé. While living in Bissi Keda in the Republic of Chad, Venberg worked with native speakers of Pévé to develop a phonetic writing system for Pévé speakers. The system was used to translate the New Testament into Pévé (Venberg et al. 1985). Venberg has published an analysis of Pévé phonology (Venberg 1975) and has written a sketch of Pévé syntax (Venberg 1971, ms., 7pp.) and a short study of the use of pronouns in Pévé (Venberg (ms.), 8pp.). Most of Venberg's examples and analyses were confirmed by the work of the present authors and provided a very useful background for further analysis and exploration.

Jungraithmayr 1978 is a comparative study of dialects, including Pévé, that are described as belonging to the Zimé cluster (Dari, Herdé, Ngeté, Mesmé and more). The study, which focuses on the coding of perfective aspect vs. other aspects, contains a list of indicative subject pronouns described as belonging to 'Pévé proper'. These forms correspond to those provided by Wambadang for the present work, as do forms that mark the contrast between the perfective aspect, marked by high tone on the verb, and the imperfective aspect, in which the verb carries the underlying tone. Cooper 1984, a Zimé-French lexicon based on the Zimé dialect Dari, is useful for comparative purposes and also for names of wildlife and illustrations of basic cultural activities.

Sachnine 1976, 1978 and 1982 focus on *vún dzəpàò* (elsewhere referred to as Dzəbao or Vún Dzəbao), a dialect of Lamé. In Sachnine's works, the term *vún dzəpàò* appears to be used interchangeably with the term Lamé. Given that Eth-

TABLE 1 Pév  vs. Lam  subject pronouns

Subject pronouns	P���	Lam�/Dz�bao*
1SG	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
2M	<i>ha</i>	<i>nd��</i>
2F	<i>h��, h���</i>	<i>nd���</i>
3M	<i>mum</i>	<i>nd��m</i>
3F	<i>ta</i>	<i>��d��</i>
1PL	<i>namb��</i>	<i>mb��</i>
2PL	<i>h��</i>	<i>nd��</i>
3PL	<i>hand���</i>	<i>nd��</i>

* While Sachnine 1982 labels these forms as belonging to Lam , Wambadang states that these are forms from the dialect he refers to as V  n Dz bao.

nologue and other sources have identified Lam  as a dialect of P   , one would expect considerable overlap between Dz bao and P   . However, parts of the Dz bao texts cited in Sachnine's works are incomprehensible to P    speakers, indicating that the overlap between P    and Dz bao is limited. While P   , as described in this work, and Lam /Dz bao, as described in Sachnine's work, do share many lexical items (though often with significant phonological differences), certain fundamental aspects of the two languages/dialects are quite different. For example, while the perfective aspect in P    is marked by high tone on the verb, the perfective aspect (*accompli*) in Lam /Dz bao is marked by low tone on the verb (Sachnine 1982: 46). Certain functions of the high-frequency associative preposition *k  * in P    appear to be marked in Lam /Dz bao by the marker *?  *, which is not attested in P   . Pronoun forms also differ significantly between P    and Lam /Dz bao, as shown in the subject pronoun chart above (other pronoun forms also show significant differences, as shown in chapter 6).

Given the fundamental role of pronouns in the languages, the differences between pronouns in P    and pronouns in Lam  suggest that P    and Dz bao, referred to as Lam  in Sachnine's works, represent two distinct languages rather than two dialects of the same language. Wambadang's view of V  n Dz bao as a pidgin language based on P    and Mesme supports this notion. Therefore, the current work draws on Sachnine's work only for comparative purposes.

4 Nature and Sources of the Data

Most of the data cited in the present work were provided in person by Lazare Wambadang, collaborator of the present work and a long-time resident of northern Cameroon. Wambadang was born in 1968 and raised in the Pévé village of Bad dis Sem (also called Badissem or Bad es Sem), Cameroon, just west of the border between Cameroon and Chad. The village was named after Wambadang's grandfather, who lived in the area long before the borderline between Chad and Cameroon was established in 1960. Wambadang's father ensured that his children grew up speaking Pévé as their native language, an approach that Wambadang has adopted with his own children. Wambadang has a bachelor's degree and three years of study at l'École Normale Supérieure, with the ranking of Professeur des Lycées Option Langue Allemande. In addition to Pévé, Wambadang speaks French, English, German, Mundang, and Fulfulde.

The data base used in the present work consists of natural discourse data in the form of stories related by Lazare Wambadang; recorded conversations between Wambadang and other Pévé speakers; elicited data consisting of translations of phrases or sentences from French into Pévé; and volunteered data, i.e., sentences and phrases provided by Wambadang in order to test or illustrate the proposed function of a given lexical or syntactic form.

5 Notes on the Transcription

In transcriptions of natural discourse data, the top line represents the author's auditory perception of the utterance of the native speaker, sometimes with the help of the Praat program (www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/). The second line shows the underlying form of each morpheme used in the utterance. In transcriptions throughout the text there are some inconsistencies in the underlying form, as it is not always clear which form is underlying and which represents a variation. This is complicated by dialectal variations in the pronunciation of a given form.

The third line in a natural discourse example contains the gloss of the underlying meaning and/or function of each element of the utterance, in accordance with the Leipzig glossing rules. The fourth line consists of a colloquial English translation of the Pévé utterance. Here is an example of a natural discourse transcription. The term 'lit.' refers to the literal or underlying meaning of a form:

- (1) *mum tʃivə* *rum-u*
mum tʃivun *rùm-u*
 3M ask (lit. 'request mouth') 3M.POSS-FV
 'He asked him.' (FV: final vowel; see chapter 2)

Some examples occur more than once in the present volume. The translation, and occasionally the gloss, of a given example may differ slightly from one occurrence to another, depending on the topic of the surrounding narrative and the function(s) that the example has been chosen to demonstrate.

Elicited examples consist of three lines: The underlying morphemes, as perceived by speaker and listener; the gloss showing the meaning and/or function of each morpheme; and the English translation of the utterance. The translation of an elicited example begins with a capital letter only if the first element of the utterance is a proper name. An elicited example may end with a question mark, an exclamation point, or zero punctuation:

- (2) *à mbà riʔ-i*
 2M.SBJV come already-FV
 'you'd better come here!'
- (3) *mum wé nàn wa vari*
 3M see 1SG.O PREP (lit. 'head') road
 'he saw me on the road' (zero punctuation)

In the top line (i.e. Puvé form) of the transcription, a slash between two morphemes indicates that either morpheme, but not both, can be used in the same utterance:

- (4) *ma/swə wé nàn-a*
 person (f.)/person (m.) see 1SG.O-FV
 'someone saw me'

Slashes between morphemes on the gloss level indicate that the morpheme in question has multiple meanings or functions:

- (5) *mum kədām kə sowā dány?*
 3M nice/good ASSC people all
 'he is kind to everyone'

In the transcription and in the text, the marker ~ indicates that a given form has more than one pronunciation, as in *tsóho?* ~ *tswóho?* ‘eight’ and *go* ~ *gwa?* ‘then’. Partially or fully reduplicated forms are marked by a word-internal hyphen, as in *ryéŋ-ryéŋ(e)* ‘very small, thin’ and *tʃiriŋ-riŋ* ‘very deep’.

A parenthesized component in the Pévé form is considered by the native speaker to be optional in the utterance in question:

- (6) *May (wá) dī fún*
 M. IMPF cook food
 ‘May cooks food’ (*dī fún* and *wá dī fún* have the same meaning)

A parenthesized component in the English translation is intended for clarification and does not directly correspond to any morpheme in the Pévé version, e.g.:

- (7) *na tsoʔ ʒyè wũ ne ʔo*
 1SG buy peanuts 2M.O ADP PROM
 ‘I (will) definitely buy you some peanuts’

A bracketed morpheme or phrase in the top line or second line of a natural discourse example represents a self-correction made by the native speaker after listening to a recording of his own text:

- (8) *ʔay mùm tʃiʔun rùm [syemɗe rùm ...] (error) syemɗe*
 CONJ 3M ask 3M.POSS name 3M.POSS name
ùm [correction] ɗe ma su
 3M.POSS call what Q
 ‘... and he (guinea fowl) asked him, “What is his name?”’ (*rùm*: 3M inalienable possessor; *ùm*: 3M alienable possessor; see chapter 5)

As is the case in many languages, there is often free variation in the pronunciation of certain phonemes, especially those that involve a stop or fricative followed by a high or mid front vowel. This is particularly true with respect to underlying vs. surface tone, since the latter may be affected by intonation and stress patterns, which themselves may be affected by context, previous discourse, the speaker’s motivation, and other factors. The phonemic structure and tone of examples throughout the text are transcribed as heard by the listener but do not always represent the underlying form from the native speaker’s perspective. As a result, there may be inconsistencies in the transcription of certain morphemes described in the text below. For clarity, the attached Pévé-

English lexicon provides what the native speaker views to be the underlying tone and phonemic form of a given morpheme, while the English-Pévé lexicon provides transcriptions of free variations observed in natural and elicited examples.

6 Outline of the Grammar

6.1 *Phonology*

The phonology of Pévé resembles that of many other Chadic languages in having a rich consonant system. In Pévé, the system includes glottalized and labialized stops, palatalized and non-palatalized fricatives, lateral fricatives, glottal stops, a number of continuants, and syllable-initial consonant clusters. Pévé has the phonemic vowels /i, e, a, o, u, ə/, where ə represents a high-central vowel. The nasalized vowels /ĩ, ě, ã, õ, and ù/ also occur in surface forms. The question of the phonemic vs. phonetic nature of nasalized vowels is discussed in chapter 2.

Syllables in Pévé may have the form V, CV, VC, CVC, CCV, CCVC, CCCVC. An interesting feature of Pévé is that the majority of lexical items in the data are monosyllabic. Among the few polysyllabic lexical items in the data, most are obviously derived through compounding or other morphological means (see below), suggesting that the derivation of the polysyllabic forms is relatively recent.

Pévé has three tones, high, mid, and low, which carry functions in the domains of both lexicon and grammar. In some cases a lexical distinction is coded solely by tone. The primary function of tone in the grammatical system is the coding of perfective aspect by means of relative high tone on the verb. In all tenses and aspects other than the perfective, the verb has its underlying tone, i.e., the tone that is used in the isolated or citation form. In the description below, this form is referred to as the unmarked or non-perfective form of the verb. As shown in chapters 8–10, temporal, aspectual and modal categories other than the perfective are coded by preverbal markers and by the choice of subject and non-subject pronouns. The use of non-subject pronouns to mark functions that are typically associated with verbal markers is an unusual characteristic of the Pévé language.

6.2 *Lexical Categories*

Lexical categories in Pévé include nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, at least one adposition, and onomatopoeic forms. As is the case in many languages, some forms may function as either a noun or a verb, depending on

morphology and the syntactic structure of the utterance, e.g. *tsoḅ* 'purchase' (verb or noun); *ɣaw* 'fight' (verb or noun); *dzraʔ-dzràʔ* 'jump up and down' (verb) or 'an up-and-down road' (noun). Prepositions play an important role in the grammar, coding grammatical relations as well as spatial and temporal relations. Certain nouns, modifiers, and verbs appear to have their source in onomatopoeic expressions, many of which involve reduplication, e.g. *wuwú* 'wind instrument'; *trumtrum* 'dishonest'; *kramkram* 'to swerve around', and *krim* 'to fall with a crash'.

6.3 *Structure of the Noun Phrase*

Some modifiers precede the head noun and others follow the head noun. Prenominal modifiers appear to be limited to nouns coding the gender, age, importance, or relative size of the head noun (see chapter 5). Modifiers that follow the head noun include other attributive adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, nouns in the possessive function, possessive pronouns, and determiners.

Most Pévé nouns do not inherently carry a singular vs. plural distinction. Plurality can be marked by the use of an inherently plural verb or an inherently plural possessor or quantifier, or it may be deducible through context or shared knowledge. Interestingly, this is also the case in Pero, a distantly related Chadic language of the West branch spoken in northern Nigeria (Frajzyngier 1989). Plurality of the head noun in Pévé can also be marked by the suffix *-(h)áy* at the end of the noun phrase.

The grammatical gender system is limited to singular second- and third-person pronouns, which code either feminine or masculine gender, and a small set of nouns that code natural feminine or masculine gender, e.g. *ma* 'woman, wife', *ndzí* 'man, husband'.

6.4 *Grammatical Relations*

The term 'grammatical relations' refers to the functional relationships between the verb and the noun phrase(s) in the clause. Grammatical relations marked in Pévé include subject, direct object and indirect object. Like a number of Chadic languages of all branches, the Pévé pronoun system does not distinguish between the direct object and the indirect object (see chapter 6 and elsewhere). The means of marking this distinction and other grammatical relations include linear order; the position of the noun phrase with respect to another noun phrase; the adposition *ne*, derived from the verb *ne* 'to give'; and the associative preposition *kə*. Means of marking the relationship between a pronoun and the verb include the form of the pronoun, which may be confined to a specific grammatical relation, and the position of a pronoun with

respect to another pronoun or noun phrase. There is no coding of grammatical relations on the verb itself or on the noun stem, and pronouns do not serve as prefixes, infixes, or suffixes. A third-person singular inanimate object that has been previously mentioned is usually not overtly marked in the clause, since the role of the entity can be deduced from the nature of the verb and the roles of other participants in the clause. If a third-person pronoun is used to refer to a previously mentioned inanimate entity, this places the object in contrastive focus.

A very important and unusual characteristic of Pévé is that the coding of grammatical relations is inseparable from the coding of tense, aspect, and mood. Different linear orders and different pronominal forms are used in different tenses, aspects, and moods (see below), and in some cases the choice of pronoun form and/or the linear order of constituents is the only means of coding tense, aspect, or mood (see chapters 8 and 9).

6.5 *Semantic Relations*

In Pévé, the semantic role of the subject in a construction may be controlling or non-controlling, affected or unaffected. Whether or not the subject is affected is a function of inherent properties of the verb and inherent properties of the subject argument. The semantic role of a direct object may be that of the affected object or the object of perception. Semantic roles of the indirect object include recipient, beneficiary, malefactive, addressee, and others, again according to inherent properties of the verb and other arguments in the construction.

Other semantic functions marked in Pévé include include source, reciprocal, and reflexive. The function of a participant as the source of an event is marked by the dedicated preposition *bá* 'from', derived from the noun 'hand'. The noun *tú* 'body' in object position indicates that the subject and the object have the same referent. The reciprocal marker *ndʒì* at the end of a clause indicates that referents denoted by a plural subject noun or pronoun acted simultaneously upon one another. An interesting feature of Pévé is that when the reciprocal marker *ndʒì* is preceded by the associative preposition *kà*, the clause indicates that the subject referents did not act on one another but instead acted together in an event that may or may not have affected another entity.

6.6 *Tense and Aspect*

As mentioned above, a key feature of Pévé is that the coding of tense and aspect interacts with the coding of grammatical relations. Grammatical relations in perfective clauses on the one hand, and in all other tenses and aspects

(‘non-perfective’) on the other hand, are coded by different pronoun forms and different linear orders of various constituents. Although the language has markers whose function is to mark tense or aspect, these markers are often omitted, leaving the order of constituents and/or the choice of pronouns as the only means of coding tense or aspect.

Pévé codes only one tense, the future tense, which is marked by the preverbal marker *dà* (derived from the verb *dà* ‘go, travel’) followed by the verb with its underlying tone. The marker *dà* occurs after the subject noun or pronoun and before the verb. A distinguishing feature of Pévé is that a clause that is not marked for future tense is not marked specifically for any other tense, resulting in the sole temporal contrast between future and non-future. Unlike in many Chadic languages, a marker of tense may occur with a marker of aspect in the same clause. The only examples of the co-occurrence of tense and aspect involve the future tense and the imperfective aspect (see chapter 8).

With respect to aspect, the system can be divided into the perfective aspect, marked by high tone on the verb stem, and all other aspects (non-perfective), marked by underlying tone (high, mid or low) on the verb stem. Some, but not all, non-perfective aspects are marked by preverbal markers. Non-perfective aspects include the imperfective aspect, marked by the preverbal marker *wá*; progressive aspect, marked by the preverbal marker *ké*; and the unmarked tense/aspect, coded by use of the unmarked (non-perfective) verb stem without any markers of tense or aspect. The interpretation of the unmarked aspect is determined by setting and context, temporal adverbials used in the clause, and the mutual understanding or shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer.

The perfective/non-perfective aspectual distinction does not pertain only to preverbal markers and tone on the main verb. Pévé has two sets of direct/indirect object pronouns, one used in the perfective aspect and the other used in all other aspects (non-perfective). The existence of two distinct pronoun systems allows for the coding of the perfective/non-perfective distinction without any other means, such as tonal changes or dedicated aspectual markers. Because subject pronouns do not distinguish between perfective aspect and non-perfective aspect, the coding of aspect via the choice of pronoun can occur only in a clause that contains at least one non-subject argument.

6.7 Modality

The domain of modality in Pévé can be divided into two major categories: subjunctive and indicative. An unusual feature of Pévé is the existence of a set of subject pronouns used exclusively in subjunctive clauses: In many cases, the form of the subject pronoun is the only means of marking a clause as subjunc-

tive. Other coding means within the subjunctive mood include the absence of an overt subject and/or the form of direct/indirect object pronoun(s) used in the clause. Interestingly, direct/indirect object pronouns used in the subjunctive mood are identical with those in the perfective set, as described above. This set of object pronouns can thus be termed the perfective/subjunctive set, in contrast with the non-perfective/non-subjunctive set. The verb in the subjunctive clause carries its underlying tone and cannot be preceded by a tense/aspect marker.

The subjunctive mood is subdivided into several modalities, including obligation, permission, and prohibition, each marked by one of a set of clause-final or clause-initial particles. Unlike many languages, Pévé does not make a formal distinction between the imperative mood, i.e. a command addressed to the second person, and the subjunctive mood, which may express desire, possibility, obligation, and other irrealis functions. While in some languages the absence of a subject pronoun is a marker of the imperative mood, in Pévé the subject pronoun can be used in or omitted from both imperative clauses and clauses marked for other subdomains within the subjunctive mood.

Modalities within the indicative mood include the speaker's promise or prediction, marked by the clause-final marker *ho*, and the assertive modality, which conveys the speaker's belief that an event or a state did occur, is occurring, could occur, or will occur. The assertive modality is marked by the morpheme *si*, which can occur in clause- or sentence-final position or immediately before the clause-final interrogative marker *su* in a polar question. The marker *si* cannot be used in a negative clause.

Pévé has also grammaticalized the counterfactual modality, marked by the postverbal marker *kàzò*, as a means of indicating that the subject's belief or wish concerning the event was unrealized or cannot be realized. Caron 2015 describes a similar function in two West Chadic languages, namely Hausa, where the counterfactual is marked by the clause-initial conjunction *dà*, and Zaar, where the counterfactual is marked by the conjunction *jân* or the conjunction *dà*;, borrowed from Hausa.

6.8 System of Reference

Pévé has a system of reference that includes the following subdomains: known or deducible reference; anaphoric reference, also known as previous mention; and deictic reference, i.e. reference to an entity, location or time with respect to another entity or the time or place of speech. Coding means include bare (unmodified) nouns; choice of pronouns; the absence of overt marking of a participant; and three sets of determiners. Singular determiners and demonstratives code gender distinctions (female vs. male) and the nature of the refer-

ent (known vs. deducible, proximal vs. distal). Some determiners also function as demonstratives referring to participants in an event. Interestingly, Pévé has only one plural demonstrative/determiner, *kunə*, which codes plurality of an entity of any number or gender. Like most Chadic languages, Pévé has no designated first-mention marker that corresponds to the indefinite article found in many Indo-European languages.

A deducible referent is a referent that can be identified by the listener even if the referent is not visible and has not been previously mentioned. A third-person singular inanimate object that has been previously mentioned is usually not overtly marked, as its role is deducible from other elements in the clause. Pévé also marks a distinction between deducible nouns and non-deducible nouns: A noun whose referent can be deduced through previous mention or common knowledge of hearer and speaker is marked by the determiner *rə* (fem.), *nə* (masc.) or *kunə* (PL), glossed as DED for ‘deducible reference’ (Shay 2015). A proper noun is not overtly marked as a deducible referent, since it is inherently deducible.

As stated above, the forms of various pronouns vary with the tense, aspect, and mood properties of the clause. All pronouns distinguish between masculine and feminine gender in the second- and third-person singular forms. There is no distinction between direct and indirect object pronouns.

6.9 *Locative Predication*

In a language that has grammaticalized the function of locative predication, certain predicates and complements are inherently locative. ‘Locative’ is defined here as indicating location or motion involving a participant or an event (cf. Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991, along with many other works). The evidence that a given language has grammaticalized the function of locative predication is that a predicate or complement that is not inherently locative must be overtly marked as such when it occurs in a predication involving movement or location.

Inherently locative nouns in Pévé include toponyms and certain common nouns, including *lúmò* ‘market’ and *só* ‘village, house’. Inherently locative predicates include verbs corresponding to ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘sit’, ‘lie down’, ‘depart’ and others. In a clause that describes movement or location of a participant or an event but whose complement is not inherently locative, the complement must be marked by a locative preposition indicating the nature of the movement or the location. The same is true if the predicate itself is not inherently locative, even if the complement itself is locative. In a clause in which both the predicate and the complement are inherently locative, the complement must be marked by a locative preposition if the complement does not immediately follow the

predicate. A locative predication thus may have one of the following forms. The term ‘Other’ represents a noun, modifier or other constituent that may occur between the predicate and the complement:

- Locative predicate + Locative complement
- Locative predicate + PREP + Non-locative complement
- Non-locative predicate + PREP + Locative complement
- Locative predicate + Other + PREP + Locative complement

Locative predication as a distinct grammatical function has been demonstrated for Chadic languages of all branches (Frajzyngier 2018).

6.10 *Verbless and Copular Clauses*

Like many Chadic languages, Pèvé has a wide range of verbless clauses whose functions include attributive predication, locative predication, possessive predication, and equational predication. The means of marking the function of a verbless clause include the inherent meaning of the lexical constituents, the relative marker *mə*, determiners, the impersonal pronoun *na* and other clause-final markers, and locative prepositions. Pèvé differs from most Chadic languages in having a designated copula corresponding to ‘to be’. An interesting fact is that the copula, *kè*, is used only in equational, attributive, and locative clauses referring to past or future time; it is not used in clauses referring to the time of speech. The copula may co-occur with the future-tense marker *dà* or with a direct/indirect object pronoun from the perfective set. A verbless clause with the equational, attributive, locative, or possessive function and without the copula *kè* codes reference to the time of speech.

6.11 *Interrogatives*

All interrogatives in Pèvé, whether polar (‘yes/no’) questions or content questions, are marked by the phrase-final particle *su*. Grammatical roles are marked in the interrogative clause as they are in the affirmative clause. Tense, aspect and mood are also marked as they are in the affirmative clause. Content questions distinguish between the human constituent, represented by *sa* ‘who’, and the non-human, inanimate or abstract constituent, represented by *mi* ‘what’. Content questions also distinguish among questions concerning manner (*ma* ‘how’) and location (*ka* ‘where’). Questions concerning the time of an event or the cause of an event are marked by the prepositional phrases *zà mi* ‘why’ (lit. ‘for what’) and *kə ma* ‘when’ (lit. ‘with how’).

6.12 *Negation*

Negation in Pévé is unusual in two respects, namely dual marking of negation and the scope of negation. Negation of the indicative clause is marked by the negative marker *tsú* immediately after the subject noun or pronoun and the negative marker *mì* at the end of the clause. The marker *tsú* can be omitted only if the negative clause is a response to a question.

An interesting feature of Pévé is that whether or not *tsú* occurs, the scope of the negative clause is the entire proposition. Attempts to elicit interrogative sentences in which only one constituent is negated, e.g. the equivalent of 'he bought a cow, not a goat', resulted in two separate clauses, one affirmative and one negative: 'he bought a cow; he did not buy a goat'. Unlike in some Chadic languages, the coding of tense and aspect in the negative clause in Pévé is the same as that in the affirmative clause.

6.13 *Topicalization*

In Pévé, a topicalized constituent is clause-initial and plays a grammatical role in the comment clause. A topicalized non-subject constituent is one of the few constituents that can precede the subject. The grammatical role of the topicalized constituent may be marked by a resumptive pronoun within the comment clause or may be deduced from the presence or absence of other constituents in the clause. Consistent with the absence of overt coding of the inanimate object in other constructions (see above), the topicalized inanimate direct object does not have to be marked within the comment clause.

Because the subject is clause-initial in the neutral clause (a clause without a topicalized constituent), there must be additional means for coding the topicalized subject. The topicalized subject of a verbal clause is preceded by the relative marker *mə* and followed by one of the resumptive pronouns *nə* (fem.), *rə* (masc.) or *kunə* (pl.). The subject role of the topicalized subject constituent is coded by a resumptive pronoun within the comment clause.

6.14 *Focus*

The domain of focus in Pévé includes contrastive and non-contrastive focus. In the contrastive focus construction, the focused constituent, such as a certain noun or verb, is implicitly compared with another constituent that could have been used in the construction but was not used, due to the speaker's choice. In the non-contrastive focus construction, the focused element is marked as being more important or salient than other elements that actually occur in the construction. In Pévé, both functions are coded by the same means. These means include the impersonal pronoun *na* after the focused element; the associative preposition *kə* after the focused element, followed by the relative marker

mə and a resumptive pronoun coding gender or plurality of the focused constituent; and the overt marking of a constituent that is normally understood, and therefore not overtly marked, when it occurs in the non-focus construction.

6.15 *Conjoined Clauses*

Pévé has several means of conjoining clauses, including the presence of a coordinating conjunction and coordination through omission of a subject marker. Unlike many Chadic languages, Pévé has a dedicated coordinating conjunction *ḡay*, corresponding to 'and', which conjoins clauses that involve shared participants or events. Unlike coordinating conjunctions in many Indo-European and other languages, *ḡay* does not function also as a nominal conjunction. The conjunction *àmá* 'but', an Arabic borrowing that is common in Chadic languages, indicates that the event of the second clause is unexpected.

6.16 *Relative Clauses*

A relative clause is defined here as a clause that modifies a head noun. The means of marking the relative clause depends on the grammatical role of the head noun within the sentence. If the head of the relative clause functions as subject or object, the head noun is followed by the relative marker *mə*, in turn followed by a proximal deictic determiner *tí* (fem.) or *ní* (masc., pl.) corresponding to the head of the clause. If the relative clause with the subject or object head is followed by other material in the same utterance, the end of the relative clause is usually marked by a deducible-reference marker from the set *rə* (fem.), *nə* (ms.).

The non-subject/non-object head of a relative clause is followed by the associative preposition *kə* and does not involve the relative marker *mə*. The non-subject/non-object relative clauses is followed by a deducible-reference marker regardless of whether or not the relative clause is the end of the utterance.

6.17 *Conditional and Temporal Constructions*

Conditional and temporal sentences in Pévé share the same basic structure: Protasis + Apodosis. In both types of sentences the protasis clause sets the condition or the time frame for the apodosis clause. However, the grammatical markers that mark the two types of constructions are very different. The conditional protasis clause is marked by the morpheme *làʔ* 'if' (probably derived from the verb *làʔ* 'say') after the subject and is followed by the phrase-final assertive marker *si*. The temporal protasis can be marked by one of a number of temporal expressions. Distinctions coded in temporal protasis clauses

include completion of the event before the apodosis, ongoing nature of the event before or during the apodosis, and an event that took place or will take place at a specific point in time. The temporal protasis may or may not be followed by the assertive marker *sí*. There is no dedicated marker of the conditional or temporal apodosis clause, which has the form of an independent clause.

6.18 *Complementation*

A complement clause, which usually follows the matrix clause, may function as an argument of the verb or as a modifier of the verb. Clausal complements, usually introduced by the complementizer *í*, occur with verbs of saying, cognition, perception, and volition, as well verbs corresponding to 'be able', 'start', 'finish', 'spend the day/night', 'help', and 'make'.

Complements of some, but not all, verbs of saying distinguish between direct and indirect speech. It appears that predications involving the most commonly used verbs of saying are the least likely to differentiate between direct and indirect speech complements. Complements of verbs of cognition and perception distinguish between direct and indirect cognition or perception. Pévé also marks a distinction between complements in the realm of the real world (*de re* complements) and complements in the domain of speaking (*de dicto* complements) (cf. Frajzynger and Jaspersen 1991, Frajzyngier and Shay 2003). The coding means for the domain *de dicto* overlap with the means of coding indirect perception.

As shown above, Pévé has grammaticalized the counterfactual function, which indicates that the speaker's desire or belief was not or cannot be realized. The counterfactual marker *kàzǎ* may occur at the end of a matrix clause, followed by a complement marked by the complementizer *í*.

6.19 *Comparative Constructions*

Comparative constructions compare the properties or actions of one argument (the target) with those of another argument (the basis). The property or action involved is referred to as the standard of comparison. Coding means in comparative constructions include the comparative marker *ndǎ* 'like', which indicates equal comparison, and the verb *pǎ* 'exceed, surpass', which indicates that the target exceeds the basis. When the basis exceeds the target, comparison is marked by a negative clause involving the verb *dày* 'to reach, to arrive' and the clause-final negative marker *mí*. Grammaticalization of the verb *dày* 'reach' as a marker of comparison is unusual in Chadic languages.

6.20 *Adjunct Phrases and Clauses*

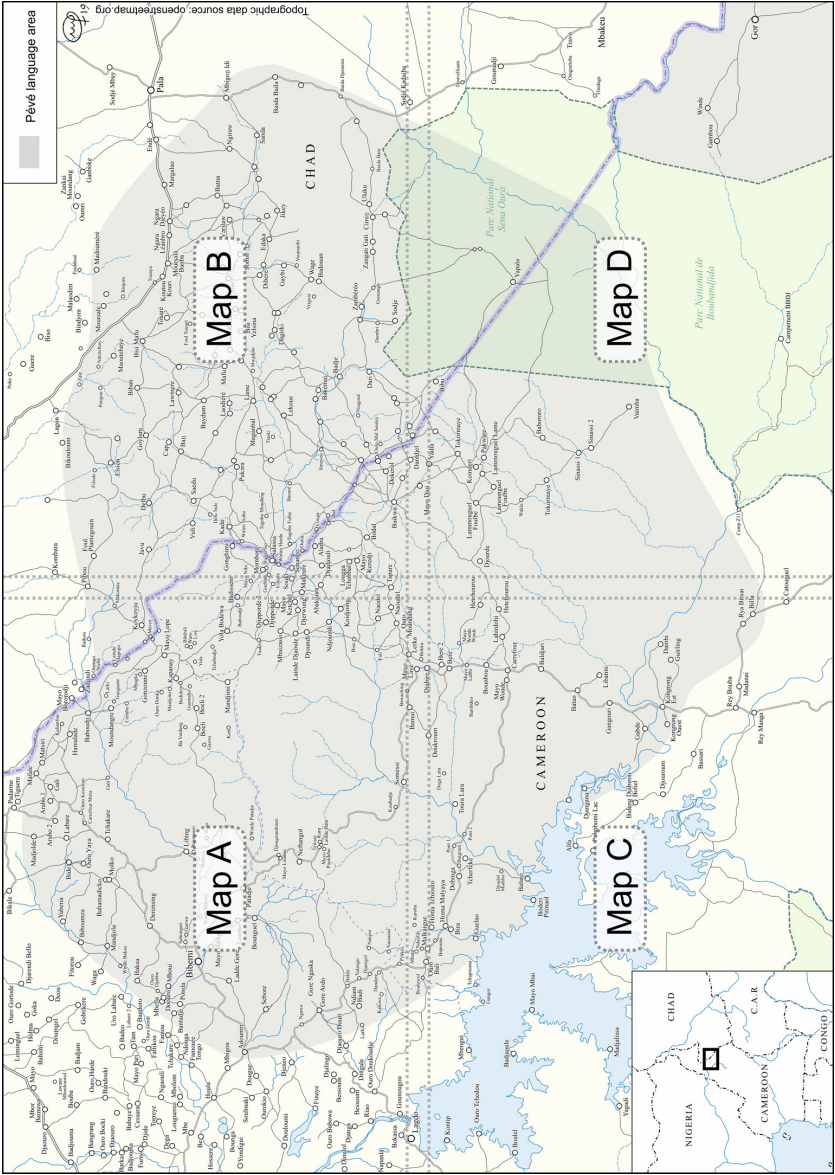
An adjunct can be added to or deleted from a construction without altering grammatical relationships within the construction. A lexical item that functions as an adjunct without additional marking is considered an inherent modifier. Adjuncts in Pévé include nouns denoting various points in time; prepositional phrases; inherent modifiers; and modifiers derived through reduplication. The adjunct is in either clause-initial or clause-final position and its scope of modification is the entire clause. Semantic domains of adjuncts include time, manner, associative/instrumental, repetition, duration, intensity, purpose, and reason.

3 Conclusion

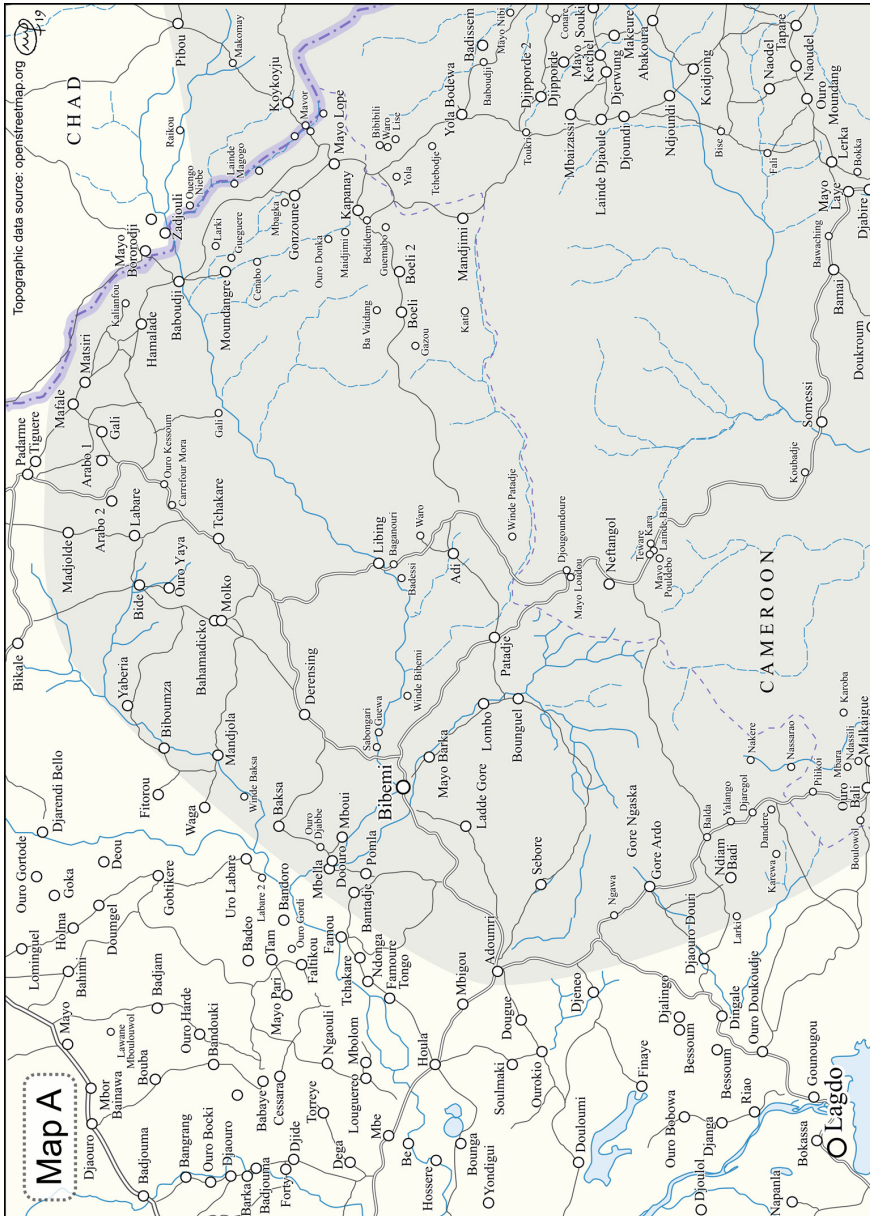
Pévé is an active language whose speakers are well aware of the need to preserve their language, cultural activities, and intercultural relations in a world in which political, social, and economic affairs can lead to the loss of language and traditions. The goal of the present work is to document and preserve some of the interesting and important characteristics of Pévé for the benefit of generations to come. With respect to nomenclature, the present work adopts the educated native-speaker Wambadang's view that Pévé is a language distinct from Zimé; that the term Lamé also refers to Pévé; that dialects of Pévé include Dari, Doué, and perhaps others; that (Vun) Dzəbao, Gumaji and Herdé may be either remote dialects of Pévé or pidgin languages that are influenced by both Pévé and Mesme (Chadic, East Branch); and that the term Kaʔdó (and its variants) is not acceptable as a name for the Pévé language or culture. The present work does not attempt to answer further questions about classification but focuses instead on lexical and grammatical forms in Pévé and the functions they encode.

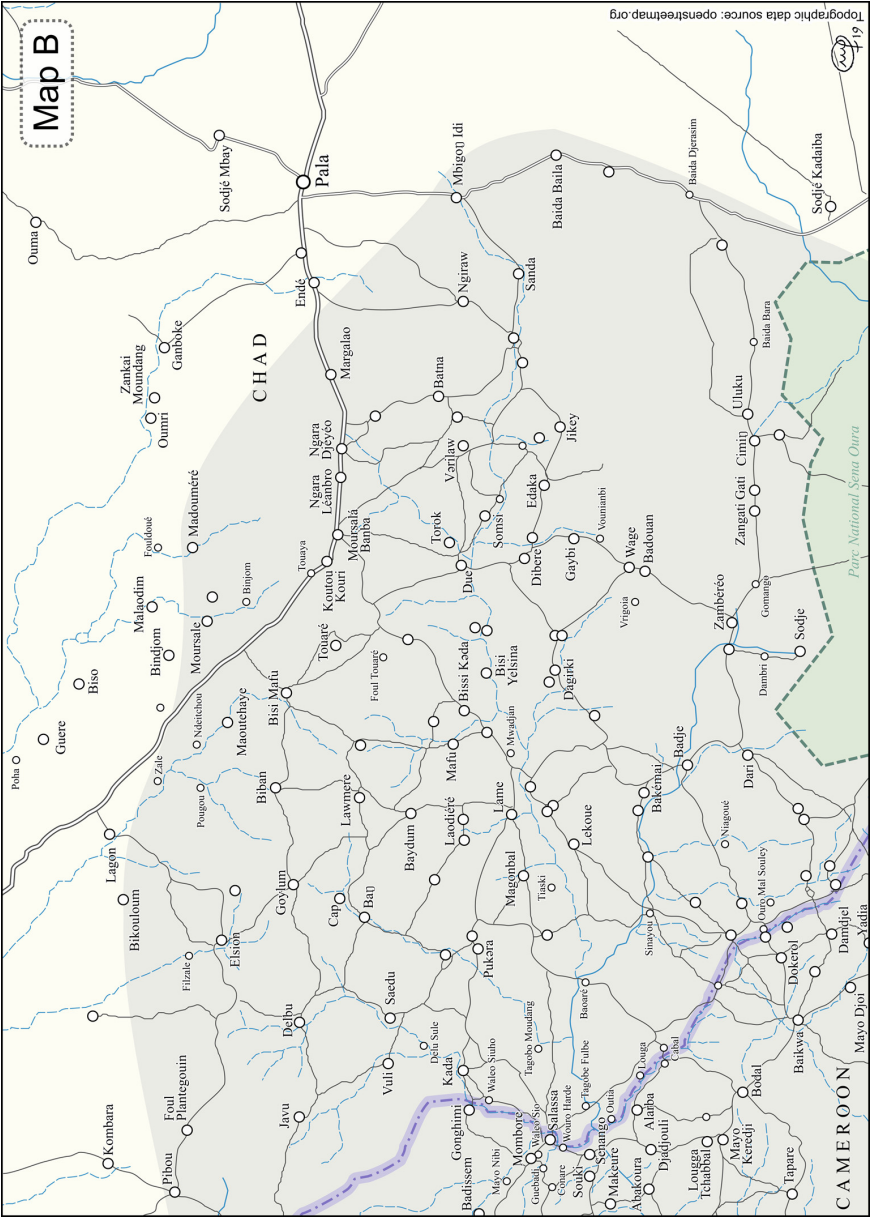
While Pévé shares many forms and functions with other languages of the Chadic family, particularly those of the Masa branch, the Pévé language also has a number of unique or unusual features. One such feature is that the choice of pronoun(s) in a given clause is often the only means of indicating the temporal, aspectual, and/or modal properties of the clause. In other words, the language has a number of distinct sets of pronouns whose function is not only to indicate the gender, number and syntactic role of a participant but also the tense, aspect or mood of the clause. Despite the large system of pronouns, the grammatical gender system is limited to singular second- and third-person pronouns and a small set of nouns that are inherently feminine or masculine. Another interesting feature of Pévé is that the scope of the negative clause is that of the

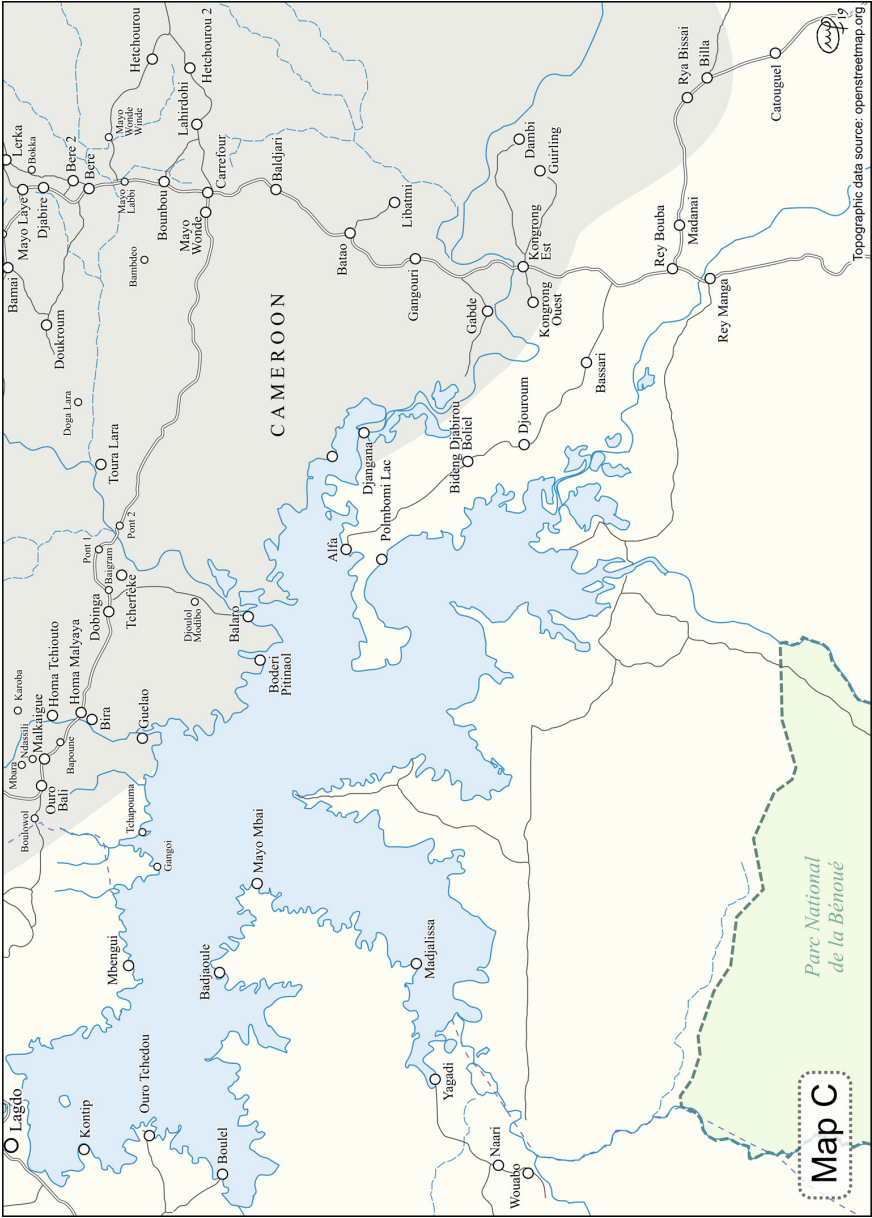
entire proposition rather than a participant in the proposition. Another feature is that while Pévé has a rich system of reference that distinguishes among anaphoric, deictic, and deducible referents, nouns in Pévé are rarely marked for number (singular or plural). The language also has a rich system of modality that includes the unusual counterfactual mood, whereby a dedicated marker indicates that the event described in the proposition did not occur.

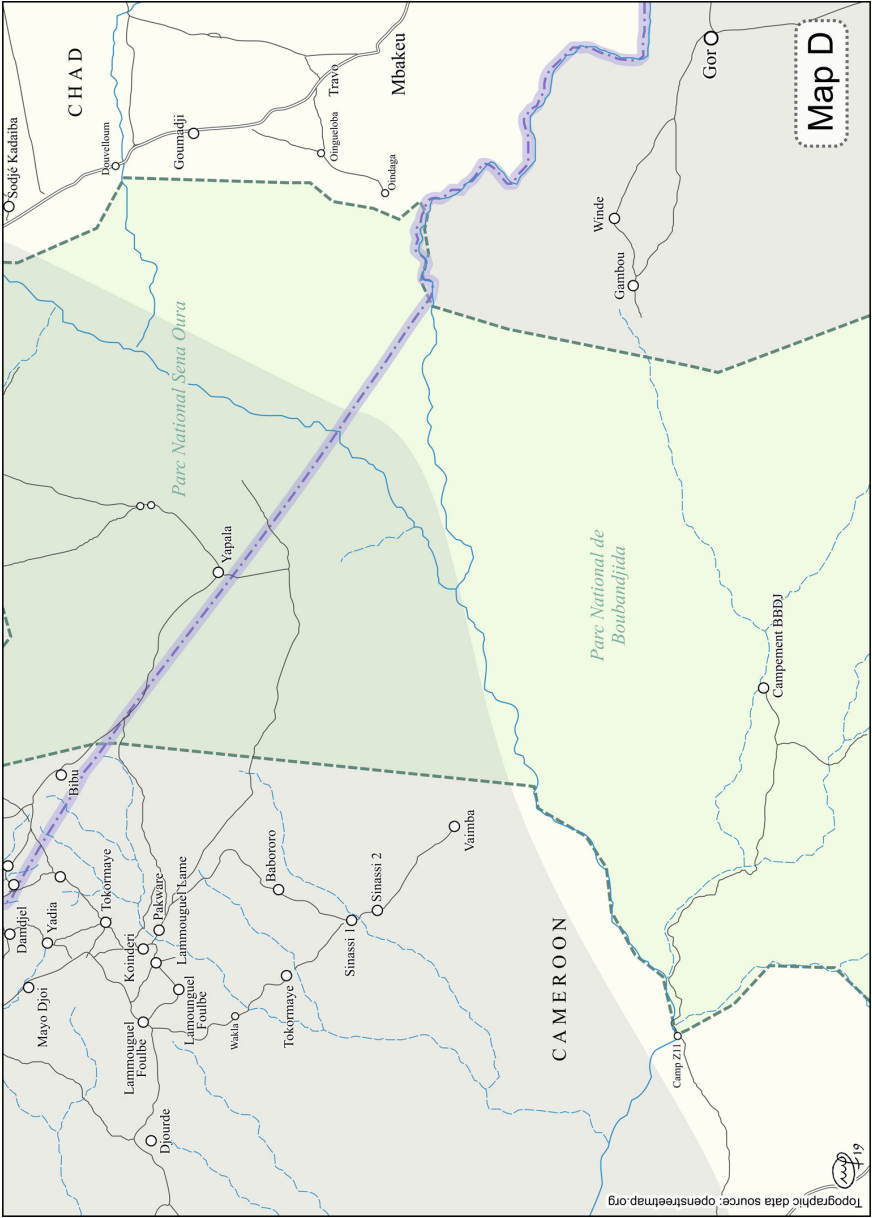


MAP 1 Where Pèvé is spoken









Phonology

1 Introduction

As noted in chapter 1, Pév  has a rich phonological system that includes simple and complex stops, fricatives, affricates, continuants, the glottalized stops and lateral fricatives that are found in many Chadic languages, and five phonemic vowels. The language distinguishes three tones: high, mid, and low. Tone plays a major role in the lexicon. However, unlike in many Chadic languages, tone in P v  plays a relatively small role in the grammatical system. The chief role of tone in the grammatical system is the coding of perfective aspect by means of high tone on the verb, as described in section 5.

The goal of this chapter is to provide an outline of P v  phonology. The analyses in the present chapter for the most part confirm the phonological system described in Venberg 1975, although that work does not address tone.

2 Consonants

Table 2 depicts the underlying consonants posited for P v  in the present work. Forms in brackets are those used in Venberg 1975. These forms are provided for the reader's benefit, as P v  speakers are accustomed to the system developed by Venberg in the 1960s for writing and reading P v  (cf. Venberg 1985 and other works).

The following sections provide evidence for the contrastive nature of the proposed underlying consonants and describe the phonetic variants of the underlying consonants. In most cases, the phonological contrast among consonants is illustrated by word-initial forms. The distribution (initial, medial, final, clusters) of various consonants is described in section 4 (phonotactics).

An underlying non-palatalized consonant is often palatalized when followed by a front vowel. This is a matter of free variation. An underlying palatalized consonant, such as /ʃ/ or /ʒ/, may be followed by the palatal glide /y/ before a high or mid front vowel. Only two palatalized consonants, /dʒ/ and /ny/, are demonstrably underlying, as these are the only two palatalized consonants attested before a non-front, non-high vowel. Because palatalization of an underlying non-palatalized consonant is a matter of free variation, the transcription of a given utterance may or may not depict palatalization.

TABLE 2 Phonemic segments in Pévé

	Bilabial	Labio- dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio- velar	Glottal
<i>Stops</i>							
Voiced	b	v	d		g	gw	ʔ [']
Voiceless	p	f	t		k	kw	
Glottalized	ɸ		ɗ				
Prenasalized	mb		nd		ŋg [ng]		
<i>Affricates</i>							
Voiced			dz	dʒ [j]			
Prenasalized			ndz				
Voiceless			ts [c]; tʃ				
<i>Fricatives</i>							
Voiced	v		z		ɣ [gh]		h
Voiceless	f		s				
<i>Lateral fricatives</i>							
Voiced			ɬ [dl]				
Voiceless			ɮ [tl]				
<i>Nasals</i>	m		n	ny	ŋ [ng]		
<i>Liquids</i>							
			l				
			r				
<i>Glides</i>	w			y			

In a few instances the surface (phonetic) form of a given phonemic segment also exists as a phonemic segment. For example, the underlying nasal segment /n/ is often palatalized as /ny/ when followed by a front vowel, as evidenced by the free variants *ne* ~ *nye* (an adposition, derived from the verb ‘give’, that is used to mark the indirect object). The palatalized nasal /ny/ also has phonemic status because it occurs before both front and non-front vowels, as in *nyem* ‘song’ and *nyã* ‘earth’. Table 3 (below) shows phonetic consonant variants triggered by the following vowel.

The sections below, organized according to place and manner of articulation, provide examples of forms that are solely phonetic and forms that are phonetic in some instances and phonemic in others.

TABLE 3 Phonetic segments in Pévé

	Labial and labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
<i>Stops</i>				
Voiced	by**		dʒ*, dzy	gw*
Voiceless				kw*
<i>Nasals</i>		ny*		
<i>Affricates</i>				
Voiced			dʒ, dʒw	
Prenasalized			ndʒ*	
Voiceless		tʃ, tsw		
<i>Fricatives</i>				
Voiced		ʒ, ʒy		
Voiceless	fy**	ʃ, ʃy		
<i>Lateral fricatives</i>				
Voiceless		ɬy		

* The segment functions as a phonemic segment and is also the phonetic form of a different phonemic segment.

** The phonetic form is rare and has been identified only as a borrowed form.

2.1 *Labial Consonants: b, p, ɓ, m, mb*

Pévé distinguishes five underlying labial consonants: the labial stops /b/ and /p/, the glottalized labial stop /ɓ/, the labial nasal /m/ and the prenasalized labial stop /mb/. The evidence for the underlying status of each consonant is provided by contrast with other consonants having the same place of articulation:

/b/	<i>bà ~ bàr</i> (dialect variation) 'to lie down; to put to bed'; <i>bay</i> 'friend'; <i>bò?</i> a type of melon
/p/	<i>par</i> 'to remove'; 'trade, commerce' (N); <i>pày</i> 'to search for, to explain, to unearth'; <i>po?</i> 'to pay'; <i>pe</i> 'to hit'
/ɓ/	<i>bay</i> 'good'; 'pretty'; <i>bo</i> (marker of promise); <i>be</i> 'to shoot something with an arrow', also 'to pick something small', e.g. peanuts, berries
/m/	<i>ma</i> 'woman'; <i>mum</i> (3M pronoun); <i>mí</i> 'what'
/mb/	<i>mbir</i> 'milk'; <i>mbok</i> 'between'; <i>mbà</i> 'to come'

The evidence that /mb/ is a single consonant rather than a consonant cluster is provided by syllable separation in word-internal position. For example, the

first-person plural pronoun *nambà* is sometimes reduced to *mbà*, but not *bà*, in rapid speech.

The palatalized bilabial /by/ occurs in the borrowing *byek* ‘slave’ (from Mundang *byàk*; Elders 2000: 454), where palatalization is probably triggered by the front vowel /e/.

2.2 Labio-dental Fricatives: *v, f*

The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ contrasts with its voiced counterpart /v/:

/f/	<i>fi</i> ‘waist’; <i>fáj</i> ‘to repeat’; <i>fol</i> ‘to slaughter’; <i>fun</i> ‘boule’, ‘food’
/v/	<i>vi?</i> ‘to lose, to get lost’; <i>vun</i> ‘mouth’; <i>vari</i> ‘road, route’
/fy/	<i>fyeke fyeke</i> ‘small holes’; <i>bàfyeke</i> ‘corn, maize’

2.3 Alveolar Stops and Nasals: *t, d, ɗ, n, nd, ny*

In the alveolar place of articulation, Pévè distinguishes among the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, the glottalized alveolar stop /ɗ/, the alveolar nasal /n/, the palatalized nasal /ny/, and the prenasalized voiced alveolar /nd/:

/t/	<i>ti</i> ‘to eat’; <i>tà</i> ‘to go’; <i>tan</i> ‘trail, trace (Noun)’; ‘behind’; <i>tám</i> ‘today’
/d/	<i>dà</i> ‘go’, future marker; <i>dàn</i> ‘word’; <i>dàm</i> ‘to sew’, ‘to descend from/get out of’
/ɗ/	<i>dām</i> ‘to build (a house)’; <i>dē</i> ‘to call, to name’
/n/	<i>ne</i> ‘to give’; <i>na</i> (1SG subject pronoun; impersonal pronoun); <i>ni</i> (proximal demonstrative)
/nd/	<i>ndo?</i> ‘to end, to finish’; <i>ndày</i> (3PL subject pronoun); <i>nde</i> ‘to fall’

The palatalized nasal /ny/ is considered underlying because it occurs before both front and non-front vowels:

/ny/	<i>nyem</i> ‘song’; <i>nyã</i> ‘earth’; <i>nyĩ</i> ‘soul’; <i>nyã tu</i> ‘sperm’ (there are no instances of <i>ny</i> followed by <i>o</i> or <i>u</i>)
------	--

As stated above, the surface palatalized nasal may be triggered by a following front vowel.

2.4 Alveolar Affricates: *ts, dz, dʒ*

The voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ contrasts with the alveolar stop /t/, above, the alveolar fricative /s/, and the voiced alveolar affricates /dz/ and /dʒ/:

- /ts/ *tsar* 'to wake up, to get up'; *tsáva* 'courtyard'; *tsoɓ* 'to sell'; 'purchase' (N);
 tsú NEG
- /tʃ/ *tʃop* 'primary, first of all'

There is free variation in labialization of the alveolar affricate before a round vowel in an open syllable, e.g. *tsóho?* ~ *tswóho?* 'eight'. This variation is not apparent in the closed syllable: *tsoɓ* 'to trade', 'purchase' (N), but not **tswoɓ*.

The alveolar affricate /dz/ contrasts with the voiceless /ts/ and the palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/:

- /dz/ *dzàk* 'to chop, cut into pieces', *dzòk* 'to pound grain using a mortar and pestle', *dzúk* 'to despise'

The palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ is considered underlying because it may be followed by a non-front, non-high vowel:

- /dʒ/ *dʒí* 'to tend, to watch over'; *dʒek* (a small melon with white flesh); *dʒwə* 'chief'

In some cases there is free variation between the non-palatalized and palatalized forms, as in *dziku* vs. *dʒiku* 'very (much)'. Before a mid front vowel, an additional palatal glide may be inserted between the palato-alveolar affricate and the vowel, as in *dzyew* 'tent, shelter', *dʒyèw* 'to tie something'.

The voiced prenasalized affricate /ndz/ contrasts with /dz/:

- /ndz/ *ndzar* 'sister', *ndzàr* 'brother', *ndzur* 'cousin'; *ndzor* (a wild vine-like plant)

The voiced prenasalized affricate is palatalized before a high front vowel, as in *ndzike* 'iron', and optionally palatalized before a high back vowel, as in *ndzuku* ~ *ndʒuku* (a type of mouse).

In some instances a labialized affricate appears to contrast with the non-labialized affricate, e.g. *tswə* 'to chew something crunchy' vs. *tsú* (negative marker); *dʒwə* 'chief' vs. *dzúk* 'to despise'. It is likely that the labial feature is a result of an underlying round vowel following the affricate. This hypothesis is supported by the forms *ndzú* 'to chew something crunchy' in Lamé (Sachnine 1982: 437) and Dari (Wambadang p.c.) and the Lamé form *dùwà* 'religious leader' (Sachnine 1982: 355). Moreover, since there appear to be no contrastive forms **tsə* and **dʒə* in Pévé, the labialized alveolar affricates are not considered phonemic.

2.5 *Alveolar Fricatives: s, z, ʃ, ʒ*

Pévé distinguishes between the voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/:

/s/	só (3F subject and object pronoun); sa ‘to spin (cotton)’; su (interrogative particle); sò ‘bone’; sab ‘large lance with a wide blade’
/z/	zà ‘under(neath)’; zà ‘weed’ (N); zù? ‘mortar’ (for grinding); zu ‘bottom part of something’
/ʃ/	ʃinè ‘field’; ʃyè ‘to fall (as in rain)’; ʃeʔe ‘tooth’; ʃẽw ‘to squat, to crouch’
/sw/	swə ‘person, man’
/ʃw/	ʃwe (an exclamation used when the speaker is disappointed by someone else’s behavior)

The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ are often palatalized before a front vowel, e.g.: ʒi ‘fight’ (V), ‘play (a game)’, ‘war’; ʃinè ‘field’; ʃyen ‘to fall (like rain)’. Evidence that these are conditioned forms is provided by free variants such as si or ʃi (assertive marker), and by the fact that there appear to be no minimal pairs of the type /z/ vs. /ʒ/ or /s/ vs. /ʃ/. In natural discourse, the palatalized fricative may in turn be followed a palatal glide before a high or mid front vowel: ʒè or ʒyè ‘river’; fem or fyem ‘foot’, ‘step’.

2.6 *Glottal Stop: ʔ*

In at least one instance, the word-initial glottal stop contrasts with the word-initial vowel: ʔi ‘to insult’ vs. i (2PL subjunctive subject pronoun). In word-final position, the glottal stop contrasts with the voiceless velar stop (and other consonants):

dzòʔ	‘to plant’; ‘to scoop up a paste’ vs. dzòk ‘to pound grain with a mortar and pestle’
gaʔ	‘side’ vs. gàk ‘to be able’

The primary evidence for the glottal stop as a phoneme is provided by a large number of minimal pairs with word-final glottal stops vs. word-final vowels:

tʃiʔ	‘to cry’ vs. tʃi ‘to kill’, ‘to weave’
ʃeʔe	‘tooth’; ‘egg’ (homonym) vs. ʃe ‘to fall, to rain’
gǎʔ	‘broth made with cold water and grain’ vs. gǎ ‘brush, shrubs’
soʔ	‘cold’ (ADJ) vs. sò ‘bone’
zuʔ	‘to pound (a grain)’ vs. zu ‘bottom of something (animate or inanimate)’

At the normal rate of speech a word-final glottal stop is sometimes omitted, as is the case with the adverbial *səday?* in the following:

- (1) *mum gyéwambə səday*
mum géwa mbə səday?
 3M return come two.days.later
 'He came back two days later.'

Evidence for the word-final glottal stop is that the glottal stop is retained when the morpheme is followed by a final vowel (FV; see chapter 3):

- (2) *mum géwa mbə səday?-a*
 3M return come two.days.later-FV
 'He came back two days later.'

An epenthetic glottal stop may precede a word-initial vowel to place emphasis on the word or morpheme that follows. The glottal stop may occur between consecutive vowels, as in the example below:

- (3) *gewa ʔà fǎye*
gewa à faŋ ye
 return 2M.SBJV repeat PERM
 "Go back again!"

The epenthetic glottal stop with the emphatic function can also occur between a word-final consonant and a word-initial vowel:

- (4) *εε kəri məní ... mum ʔín ne nùm ndá na?-a ...*
εε kəri mənɪ mum ín ne nùm ndá na?-a ...
 eh when 3M say ADP 3M.O like I.PRO-FV
 'When he **told** him that ...'

2.7 Glottal Fricative: *h*

The contrast between the initial glottal fricative /h/ and an initial vowel is found in a few lexical items:

hu 'goat' vs. *ú* 'millet'
hob 'two' vs. *o* 'to ask'

The glottal fricative also contrasts with the initial glottal stop:

hí (2PL subjunctive pronoun) vs. *?i* ‘to insult’

2.8 Velar Consonants: *k, g, ŋ, ɣ*

Pévé distinguishes among the velar stops /k/ and /g/, the velar nasal /ŋ/, and velar fricative /ɣ/:

/k/	<i>ka</i> ‘where’; <i>kə</i> (associative preposition); <i>ku</i> ‘fire’
/g/	<i>gàk</i> ‘to be able’; <i>ge</i> ‘to throw’; <i>gú</i> ‘tree’
/ŋ/	<i>ŋak</i> ‘crowned crane’ (bird)
/ɣ/	<i>ɣaw</i> ‘fight’ (N); <i>ɣàr</i> ‘to hurry’

In word-final position, the velar nasal /ŋ/ contrasts with the alveolar nasal /n/:

tfiriŋ ‘deep’ vs. *tfín* ‘to place, to put’
nàŋ (2F object pronoun) vs. *nàn* (1SG object pronoun)

The velar nasal may carry tone, as evidenced by the form *hǐ́*, a variant of the form *háŋ* (2F indicative subject pronoun). In the form *ŋ*, a variant of the 2F subjunctive subject pronoun *àŋ*, the velar nasal is syllabic and carries the low tone of the underlying form:

(5) *ŋ* *làʔ sá tà mbà ye*
 2F.SBJV say 3F.O 3F.SBJV come PERM
 ‘(you) tell her she should come’

There are a few instances where /kw/ and /gw/ contrast with non-labialized stops:

/kw/ *kwá* ‘thing’ vs. *ka* ‘where’
 /gw/ *gwaʔ* ‘then’ vs. *gaʔ* ‘side’

Given that the labialized velar stops are rare in the language, it is likely that /kw/ and /gw/ have their origins in a stop followed by a round vowel, as has been posited for other labialized consonants. Support for this is provided by free variants such *go* ~ *gwaʔ* ‘then’. However, given the contrasting pairs above, the labialized velars are considered phonemic.

2.9 Glides: *w, y*

The language distinguishes between the labio-velar glide /w/ and the palatal glide /y/ in word-initial position:

- /w/ *wa* ‘head’ (N); *we* ‘to see’
 /y/ *ya* ‘mother’; *ye* (marker of permission)

In word-final position, the glides /w/ and /y/ contrast with one another and with word-final vowels. The final palatal glide is attested only after the low vowel /a/, while the final labiovelar glide is attested after /a/ and the front vowels /i/ and /e/:

- bay* ‘and’ (conjunction) vs. *bá* ‘hand’ (noun)
yaw ‘miracle’ vs. *ya* ‘mother’
ɬew ‘meat’ vs. *ɬé* ‘take’
síw ‘tomorrow’ vs. *si* (assertive marker)

The evidence that the final glide is consonantal is provided by examining parsing morphology (see Frajzyngier 2016b) in Pévé. Parsing morphology, described in detail in chapter 3, involves a phrase-final marker whose function is to tell the listener that the preceding phrase is complete. Parsing morphology in Pévé involves adding a final vowel to a morpheme whose underlying form is consonant-final. The added final vowel, glossed ‘FV’, is a copy of the vowel that precedes the underlying final consonant. The adverbial corresponding to ‘today’ has the form *tám* in isolation or phrase-internal position and the form *tám-a* in phrase-final position:

- (6) *mum tá lúmò kə sá tám-a*
 3M go market ASSC 3F.O today-FV
 ‘he went to the market with her today’

A phrase-final vowel cannot be added to a morpheme whose underlying form ends in a vowel. This provides a tool for determining whether the final vowel of the morpheme is underlying or not:

- (7) *Gwà tá lúmò kúm kádàn tsoɓ keve-ʔe*
 G. go market yesterday PURP buy fish-ʔFV
 for ‘Gwa went to the market yesterday to buy fish’ [*keve* ‘fish’]

A final vowel can be added after a glide, providing evidence that the glide is an underlying consonant and not a part of a diphthong. The added vowel is a copy of the vowel preceding the glide:

- (8) *mum ne ʒyè dǎw-a*
 3M give peanut one-FV
 'he gave (me) one peanut' [*dǎw* 'one']

- (9) *ta kə səlɔy-a*
 3F ASSC money-FV
 'she has money' [*səlɔy* 'money']

2.10 *Liquids: l, r*

Pévé distinguishes between the lateral /l/ and the rhotic /r/, realized as a short trill:

- /l/ *làʔ* 'say'; *lúmò* 'market' (Ful.)
 /r/ *raʔ* 'gather (things)'; *rìn* 1SG possessive pronoun; *rù* 2M possessive pronoun; *ri* 'time, space'

2.11 *Lateral Fricatives: ɬ, ɮ*

The voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ contrasts with the voiced lateral fricative /ɮ/ and with the lateral liquid /l/. All three occur in word-initial position:

- /ɬ/ *ɬé* 'to take'; *ɬew* or *ɬyew* 'meat'
 /ɮ/ *ɮe* 'to start, to pass'; *ɮaʔ* 'to dance'
 /l/ *làʔ* 'say'

Both /l/ and /ɬ/ are attested in word-final position:

- /ɬ/ *vaɬ* 'five'
 /l/ *kwol* 'wash'

3 Vowels

The vowels in Table 4 are phonemic in Pévé (the symbol / ɿ indicates a nasalized vowel).

While oral vowels occur in open and closed syllables, nasalized vowels occur only in open syllables or before a glottal stop. The lax vowels /ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ/ occur

TABLE 4 Phonemic vowels in Pévé

	Front	Center	Back
High	i, ĭ		u, ũ
Mid	e, ě		o, ȯ
Low		a, ă	

in closed syllables, and occasionally in open syllables, as variants of the corresponding tense vowels /i, e, o, u/. The high central vowel, transcribed as /ə/ in accordance with Chadic linguistic tradition, is very frequent but is not phonemic, as shown below.¹

3.1 *Oral Vowels*

Evidence that the five oral vowels are phonemic is provided by minimal or near-minimal pairs in open syllables:

- /i/ *gi* ‘to do, to make’; *ki* ‘back (side)’; *yü* ‘squirrel’
- /e/ *ge* ‘to throw (at a target)’ *kè* (copula); *ye* (modal particle)
- /a/ *ga?* ‘side’; *ka* ‘where’ (question word); *ya* ‘female’
- /o/ *no?* ‘near’; *sò* ‘bone’; *poc?* ‘to pay’
- /u/ *gú* ‘tree, wood’; *ku* ‘fire’; *su* (interrogative particle)

All of the vowels above are contrastive in closed syllables as well:

- /i/ *fin* ‘work’
- /e/ *fyèn* ‘to sleep’
- /a/ *ndzar* ‘sister’
- /o/ *tsob* ‘purchase’ (N)
- /u/ *ndzur* ‘cousin’

There is a phonetic alternation between the tense vowels /i, e, o, u/ in open syllables and the lax vowels /ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ/ in closed syllables. Because lax vowels do not appear in any instance to be phonemic, any lax vowels in transcriptions are surface manifestations of underlying tense vowels.

1 In Venberg 1975, which does not depict tone, the high central vowel is represented by ‘e’ and the mid front vowel is represented by ‘é’ (symbolic only; no tone implied).

In a few cases a vowel in an open syllable is manifested as a long vowel, but this does not appear to be phonemic:

<i>yii</i> /yi/	‘squirrel’
<i>goo</i> /go/	(word of consolation, permission or politeness; see chapter 9)
<i>ngoo</i> /ngo/	‘dry tree (ready to be cut down and burned)’
<i>saa</i> /sa/	‘who’ (content question word)
<i>zyèe</i> /zyè/	‘peanut(s)’

3.2 Nasalized Vowels

The nasalized vowels /ĩ, ẽ, ã, õ, ù/ are attested in open syllables, before the glottal stop, and before the palatal and alveolar glides. In all of these environments, nasalized vowels contrast with non-nasalized (oral) vowels:

<i>vĩ</i>	‘vast, limitless’ vs. <i>vi?</i> ‘to lose (something)’
<i>kĩ</i>	‘small’ vs. <i>ki</i> ‘back; backside of something’
<i>nẽ?</i>	‘hippopotamus’, ‘curse’ (N) vs. <i>ne</i> ‘to give’
<i>mbã</i>	‘to respect’ vs. <i>mbà</i> (1PL object pronoun)
<i>gwã?</i>	(tiny flying insect) vs. <i>gwá?</i> ‘then’
<i>gã</i>	‘brush, low trees’; ‘to freeload’ vs. <i>gà?</i> ‘side’
<i>sowã</i>	‘people’ vs. <i>so</i> ‘house, village’
<i>bùwõ</i>	‘rain’ (N) vs. <i>bo</i> (modal particle)
<i>wũ</i>	(2M object pronoun) vs. <i>wu?</i> ‘to pour a liquid’
<i>wãŷ</i>	‘last, most recent’ vs. <i>ŷway</i> ‘to herd, to chase’
<i>nãw</i>	‘bovine’ vs. <i>dãw</i> ‘one’

Some nasalized vowels are clearly surface realizations of an underlying sequence of a vowel followed by a nasal consonant. For example, when the noun *ŷĩŷ* ‘smell’ (nasalized vowel) is followed by the trill /r/, as in *ŷĩŷ rùm* ‘his smell’, the nasalized vowel in *ŷĩŷ* is replaced by an oral vowel (*ŷiŷ*), providing evidence that /ŷiŷ/ is the underlying form. Further evidence that the nasalized vowel is not underlying is provided by use of the oral vowel in the reduplicated form *ŷi-ŷi* (non-nasalized+nasalized) ‘to smell something’.

Phrase-final vowel addition, in its function as parsing morphology (chapter 3), provides clues for the origin of some nasalized vowels. When the phrase-internal form or isolated form of a lexical item ends in a nasalized vowel, phrase-final vowel addition sometimes results in a velar nasal consonant flanked by oral vowels. For example, the noun *bùwõ* ‘rain’ becomes *bùwòŷò* in phrase-final position, suggesting that nasalization of the final /o/ in *bùwõ* had its origins in an underlying final velar nasal consonant.

The added vowel following a nasal consonant may be [+nasal], even if the preceding vowel is [-nasal]:

- (10) *ta tá lúmò kə rùm-ũ*
 3F go market ASSC 3M.O-FV
 'she went to the market with him'

While it is likely that most or all nasalized vowels have their origins in the properties of adjacent underlying or surface consonants, lists like the one above show that nasalized vowels are contrastive and so must be considered to be phonemic.

3.3 *Diphthongs*

A few diphthongs are attested, mostly in proper names, e.g., *Taú* and *Koi*, and in the verb *kai* ~ *kəy* 'to break'. The evidence that /aú/ in *Taú* is a sequence of vowels rather than the sequence Vowel+Glide is provided by the fact that a final vowel cannot be added in phrase-final position:

- (11) *mum lé nãw Taú- *u*
 3M take bovine T.-*FV
 'he took Tau's cow'

Compare with the sequence Vowel+ Glide, where a phrase-final vowel can be added:

- (12) *Taú tá rá? nãw-ã*
 T. walk gather bovine-FV
 'Tau gathered cattle'

3.4 *Vocalization of the Palatal Glide*

The Vowel+Glide sequence /ay/ becomes the diphthong /ai/ when followed by a glottal stop. The evidence for vocalization is that the phrase-final added vowel (see chapter 3) is /i/, not /a/. Retention of the sequence *yʔ-á* is not acceptable:

- (13) *handày wə zì? gaiʔ-i/*gayʔ-á*
handày wə zí gayʔ-i
 3PL IMPF play game-FV
 'They were playing *gayʔ* (a version of *mankala*).'

3.5 Vowel Epenthesis and Vowel Reduction

3.5.1 Vowel Epenthesis

The epenthetic vowel /ə/ is often deployed when a morpheme or syllable whose underlying form is a single consonant is followed by another consonant. Underlying forms are in the second line in the next two examples:

- (14) *nambà ʔyá ti kə ndʒike vaɫ mə riyà*
nambà ʔyá ti k ndʒike vaɫ mə riyà
 1PL leave PROX ASSC iron five REL evening
 'We left here at five o'clock in the evening.'

- (15) *əŋ laʔ sá tə mbə ye*
ŋ laʔ s t mb ye
 2F.SBJV say 3F.O 3F.SBJV come SUBJ
 'Tell her she should come.'

There are several pieces of evidence that /ə/ in such instances is phonetic and not phonemic. First, there is only one instance of a word-initial /ə/, which alternates with the absence of a vowel and so is probably epenthetic: *əŋ ~ ŋ* (2F subjunctive subject). There is only one instance of a contrastive /ə/ in a closed syllable, namely *ndzər* 'brother' vs. *ndzar* 'sister', *ndzur* 'cousin'. It is likely that the /ə/ in *ndzər* is the result of vowel reduction (see section 3.6, below).

Further evidence that /ə/ is epenthetic is that many morphemes with a final /ə/ in phrase-internal position have a final /a/ in phrase-final position. There are no instances of /ə/ in phrase-final position. For example, if the word-final /ə/ in *sá* (3F.O) and *swə* 'man, person' were underlying, one would expect to hear /ə/ in phrase-final position. Instead, it is replaced by the phrase-final morpheme /a/:

Phrase-internal form:

- (16) *mum tá lúmò kə sá tam-a*
 3M go market ASSC 3F.O today-FV
 'he went to the market with her today'

Cf. the phrase-final form:

- (17) *mum tá lúmò kə s-á*
 3M go market ASSC 3F.O-FV
 'he went to the market with her'

Phrase-internal form:

- (18) *swə* *púm nùm-u*
 man/person hit 3M.O-FV
 ‘someone hit him’

Cf. the phrase-final form:

- (19) *na wé sw-a*
 1SG see person-FV
 ‘I saw someone’

Additional evidence that the /ə/ in phrase-internal position is epenthetic rather than a reduced form of an underlying /a/ is provided by the existence of forms such as *ha* and *wa*, which retain the final /a/ in phrase-internal position:

- (20) *ha man yè si zə wa rìn fol-o*
 ha mən yè si zə wa rìn fol-o
 2M 1SG.O know ASSERT PREP head 1SG.POSS whitish-FV
 ‘... you (will) know me because my head is whitish.’ (ASSERT: assertive mood)

For convenience and ease of interpretation, the epenthetic vowel is included in forms mentioned in the text. For instance, while the underlying form of the associative preposition is the single consonant /k/, the form *kə* is used in all descriptions below. The same is true for forms such as *ɲ* (2F.SBJV), *s* (3F.O), and others.

3.6 *Vowel Reduction*

While many instances of phrase-internal /ə/ are epenthetic, others are the result of vowel reduction in natural discourse, which may take place in both open and closed syllables. The evidence that /ə/ is an outcome of vowel reduction is provided by the co-existence of the same forms with full vowels in phrase-internal or phrase-final position:

- (21) *na wà dà ʔin dən wà dən*
 na wá kədən in dan wa dan
 1SG want PURP tell (‘say word’) story (‘head word’)

vàri rəkway *man*
vari rəkway 1SG.POSS
 trip ('road stranger')
 'I want tell the story of my trip.'

Cf.

(22) *na ín dàn ne nù*
 1SG say word ADP 2M.O
 'I told you something'

Another example:

(23) *á tà rə? go*
 1SG.SBJV walk already now
 'I can come in now'

Cf.

(24) *à mbà ri?-i*
 2M.SBJV come already-FV
 'you'd better come here!'

Vowel reduction may be accompanied by consonant deletion at the normal rate of speech, as shown by the form *vun* in natural discourse:

(25) *bay yúi gwà?à tʃi və rum ha tʃi? mí sú báy*
bay yúi gwa? tʃi vun rùm ha tʃi? mi su bay
 CONJ squirrel then ask 3M.POSS 2M cry what Q friend
 'And then Squirrel asks him, "Why are you crying, friend?"'

4 Phonotactics

4.1 Distribution of Phonemes

All of the consonant phonemes shown in Table 2 can occur in word-initial position. In Pévè, as in many Chadic languages, the contrast between voiced and voiceless stops is neutralized in word-final position. There are no voiced non-glottalized stops in word-final position and there are no complex consonants or consonant clusters attested in word-final position. The glottalized labial stop /b/ is attested in word-final position but the glottalized alveolar stop /d/ is not.

The set of consonants that are attested in word-final position is limited to the following:

/p/	<i>zup</i> 'to cook/simmer'
/b/	<i>duɓ</i> 'back (body part)'; flute made from an animal horn
/m/	<i>pum</i> 'to hit'
/t/	<i>tʃèt</i> 'all'
/n/	<i>mun</i> 'to hear'
/s/	<i>kis</i> '100'
/k/	<i>suk</i> 'to stay in a place'
/ŋ/	<i>tʃiriŋ</i> 'deep'
/w/	<i>dāw</i> 'one'
/y/	<i>bay</i> (conjunction)
/ʔ/	<i>wàʔ</i> 'to want'
/ʌ/	<i>vat</i> 'five'
/r/	<i>tsar</i> 'to get up'
/l/	<i>il</i> 'to scoop out (a liquid)'

Since any word-final consonant can be followed by an added final vowel (FV) whose function is to mark the end of the utterance, all of the consonants listed above can also occur in intervocalic position (*suk-u* 'to stay in a place-FV' *tʃiriŋ-i* 'deep-FV', etc.). There are a few consonants that are attested in intervocalic position within the word but are not attested in word-final position. Many of the words with a word-internal intervocalic consonant are borrowed or show evidence of derivation via affixation or compounding:

/d/	<i>kədàn</i> (purpose marker) (associative preposition <i>kə</i> + <i>dàn</i> 'word')
/ts/	<i>àtsíw</i> 'knife'
/dʒ/	<i>dʒidʒib</i> 'manioc, cassava' (probably a result of reduplication)
/fy/	<i>bàfyek</i> 'corn'
/h/	<i>tsóhoʔ</i> 'eight'; <i>oho</i> (Ful.) 'yes'
/v/	<i>keve</i> 'fish'; <i>kavà</i> 'hoe'

All underlying vowels (see Table 4) are attested in word-initial, -medial, and -final position:

/i/	<i>il</i> 'to scoop a liquid', 'to grow fat'
/e/	'to crow (like a rooster)'
/a/	<i>à</i> (2M subjunctive subject pronoun)
/o/	<i>o</i> 'to ask for'

- /u/ ùm (3M object pronoun), ul 'to cough'
 /ə/ àŋ (3F subjunctive subject pronoun) (also ɲ)

All five underlying oral vowels are also found in closed syllables. The forms below are phonemic; recall that tense vowels tend to become lax vowels in closed syllables:

- híndzĩ?* 'three'
fyèn 'sleep'
tám 'today'
hob 'two'
run 'mouth'

The same vowels are also attested in open syllables and in word-final position:

- ri* 'place (N), time'
té 'to take'
tà 'to go, to walk'
só 'house' (V)
rù (2M possessive pronoun (inalien.))

As noted above, nasalized vowels are attested in open syllables, before a word-final glottal stop, and before word-final palatal and alveolar glides.

4.2 Consonant Clusters

In Pévé, as in many Chadic languages, most consonant clusters are prohibited in word- or morpheme-final position. The exception to this rule is a cluster ending in a glottal stop, as shown below. The phonological rules described here do not necessarily apply to ideophones.

This section describes the attested consonant clusters and their distribution, sometimes with comparative evidence showing that clusters contrast with simple consonants. Examples whose sole source is Venberg 1975 are noted as such and have been approved by a native speaker.

The following types of morpheme-initial consonant clusters are attested in Pévé:

- Stop+Trill: *pram* 'better' (Venberg 1975); *brùk* 'monitor lizard'
 brò? 'angry, hard-hearted, ugly'
 mbraw 'cotton', 'shirt, clothing'; *mbrí* 'older'

	<i>tràk</i> 'shoe(s)'
	<i>dram</i> 'muddy ground'; <i>dray?</i> 'pestle', 'mortar'
	<i>krùt</i> 'to undress'
	<i>grin</i> 'to be saddened', 'to be surprised'
Fricative+Trill:	<i>fray</i> 'sky'
	<i>vrà?</i> 'to give birth'
	<i>srúm</i> 'small lance with thin blade'
	<i>zrà</i> 'hole'
	<i>dzràk</i> 'long' (ADJ)
Glottal fricative+Continuant:	<i>hwa</i> 'to guess, foresee' vs. <i>wa</i> 'head'
Glottal stop+Continuant:	<i>ʔwá</i> 'calm' (ADJ) vs. <i>wa</i> 'head'
	<i>ʔyá</i> 'to leave' vs. <i>ya</i> 'mother, female'
	<i>ʔna</i> 'to throw away' vs. <i>na</i> (1SG subject pronoun; impersonal pronoun)
Continuant+Stop+Trill	<i>mbri</i> 'big'
Velar nasal+Stop:	<i>ɲgà</i> 'to tear, rip open' vs. <i>ɲak</i> (type of bird)
Fricative+Glide:	<i>swə</i> 'man, person' vs. <i>sá</i> (3F object pronoun)
Labialized stop+Trill:	<i>gwrá</i> 'circumcision'; <i>gwri?</i> 'thick, sturdy'
	<i>kwra</i> 'agriculture'
Stop+Stop:	<i>kpe</i> 'never'
	<i>kpo?</i> 'further' (Venberg 1975)
	<i>gbàgbón</i> 'strong'
Stop+Stop+Stop	<i>mgbij mgbij</i> 'in chorus'
	<i>mgbaj</i> 'right now'
	<i>mgbɔ?</i> 'leper' (Venberg 1975).

Given the initial Stop+Stop sequence in *gbàgbón* 'strong', and given the lack of other three-consonant clusters, it is possible that the sequence /gb/ (and perhaps also /kp/) represents a single consonant, rendering /mgb/ a two-consonant cluster of the form Nasal stop+Stop.

The few attested medial consonant clusters are very likely the result of compounding or prefixing. These include *mandréw* 'pimiento'; *dangráw?* 'praying mantis'; *dukri* 'night' (from *duk* 'heart, middle' *ri* 'time').

The only attested morpheme-final clusters consist of a continuant followed by a glottal stop:

<i>gway?</i>	'mountain' vs. <i>gwá?</i> 'to stay'
<i>hay?</i>	'near, next to, beside' vs. <i>ndày</i> (3PL possessive pronoun)
<i>dán?</i>	'all' vs. <i>fán</i> 'to return, to come back'
<i>ʔey?</i>	'gently, weakly, sneakily'

The evidence that a final glide contrasts with the final sequence Glide+Glottal stop is as follows: Repetition of the last vowel in an utterance indicates the end of an utterance (see chapter 3). If the morpheme ends in a palatal glide, the final added vowel is a copy of the preceding vowel:

- (26) *handày géwa tá só ndày-a*
 3PL return go house 3PL.POSS-FV
 'they went back to their house'

If the morpheme to which the vowel is added ends in /y/ followed by a glottal stop, the added vowel is /i/. This provides evidence for the contrast between /y/ and /yʔ/ in word-final position:

- (27) *handày gáyʔ-i*
 3PL stay/rest-FV
 'they stayed/rested'

The underlying glottal stop after a continuant is sometimes deleted at the normal rate of speech when followed by another consonant:

- (28) *mum mbá záa dzənàk gáy zà gu raw*
mum mbà záʔ dzənàk gáyʔ zà gú ráw
 3M come find guinea fowl sit PREP tree many
 'He came and found guinea fowls sitting under a tree.'

4.3 Syllable and Word Structure

As noted in chapter 1, the following syllable structures are attested in Pévé: V, CV, VC, CCV(C), CCCVC (one example), and C(C) (one example: *hɲ* (2F indicative subject pronoun)). The great majority of lexical and grammatical morphemes are monosyllabic. In many instances, a polysyllabic word or morpheme shows evidence of affixation, reduplicating, or compounding, e.g., *məsín* 'other, some, one of' (*mə* REL/POSS+*sín* 'different'); *nambà* 1PL subject (*na* (demonstrative?)+*mbà* (1PL object and possessive pronoun)); *kwáti* 'food' (*kwá* 'thing' + *ti* 'eat'); *ryén-ryén(e)* 'very small, thin' (*ryén* 'small, thin'). Some, but not all, polysyllabic words that cannot be readily broken down into monosyllabic parts are borrowings, e.g. *dábáʔ* 'tobacco' (Fr. *tabac*).

Unlike some Chadic languages, Pévé does not draw a phonological distinction between lexical categories: Nouns, verbs, other lexical morphemes, and grammatical morphemes all share the same syllabic structure and the same phonological constraints.

5 Tone

As previously stated, tone plays a role in both the lexical and the grammatical system of Pévé. Every vowel carries a tone, and a multisyllabic morpheme may carry more than one tone. The velar nasal sometimes carries non-contrastive tone, as shown in section 2.8, above. The word-final palatal glide often carries non-contrastive rising tone:

- (29) *mum kǎy káva ùm-ù*
 3M break hoe 3M.POSS-FV
 'he broke his hoe'

- (30) *hí wé ndáy só ndáy su*
 2PL see 3PL house 3PL.POSS Q
 'did you see them at their place?'

All lexical and grammatical markers carry one or more underlying tones, which may or may not be altered in the surface form. A number of nouns, verbs, and grammatical markers are distinguished by tone alone. This is not surprising in view of the fact that most morphemes and lexical items are monosyllabic. As shown in the following examples, tone codes lexical distinctions both within and across lexical and grammatical categories:

- so?* 'cold' (ADJ) vs. *só* 'house' (N)
gã 'brush, low trees' vs. *gǎ?* 'broth made of cold water and grain'
ye? 'to burn' vs. *yè?* 'to cause oneself to vomit'
kor 'in front of' (PREP) vs. *kòr* 'donkey'
á (1SG subjunctive subject pronoun) vs. *à* (2M subjunctive subject pronoun)
ì (2PL subjunctive subject pronoun) vs. *i* (complementizer)

There are a few instantiations of a three-way tone distinction:

- bay* 'and' (conjunction) vs. *bay* 'good, pretty' (ADJ) vs. *bay* 'beauty, goodness' (N)
dzik 'neighbor' vs. *džík* 'porcupine' vs. *dzik* 'to approach, to bring together'.

Despite the availability of tone as a coding means, there are many homonyms within and across lexical and grammatical categories:

<i>ndʒí</i>	‘husband’ or ‘competence’
<i>dʒí</i>	‘to tend, to watch over’ or ‘dense forest’
<i>rí</i>	‘to be ready to fall’ (said of rain) or traditional ornamental ring worn by women
<i>ri</i>	‘to cut with a sickle’ or ‘place’, ‘time’
<i>tà</i>	‘to walk’ or 3F subject pronoun

Grammatical morphemes, and lexical items other than verbs, retain their underlying tone in the surface form. While stress and intonation patterns may affect the perceived tone, such changes are not contrastive. Clause-final particles such as the interrogative marker *su* and the assertive marker *si* may carry high, mid or low tone, depending on the tone of the preceding morpheme, intonation, stress patterns, and other factors. The same is true of phrase-final added vowels (see chapter 3), which may or may not carry the same tone as the preceding vowel. It is also possible that some grammatical particles do not actually have an underlying tone. Because the present volume is authored by a native speaker of Pévé and a linguist who is not a Pévé speaker, there are instances in which the linguist and the native speaker have different perceptions of tone, resulting in apparent inconsistencies in transcriptions used in the text. Further studies will be necessary to discover the language-external causes for such variations in tone.

Verbs are the only category in which tone carries a grammatical function, as opposed to a lexical function. Each syllable in a verb carries a tone, which may be high, mid or low. The surface tone of the verb is an important factor in the coding of tense and aspect. The primary distinction is between the perfective aspect, coded by high tone on the verb, and all other tenses and aspects, where the verb retains its underlying (also called unmarked) tone. In the independent clause, tenses and aspects other than the perfective are coded by independent markers that are not part of the verb. For example, the verb *ti* ‘to eat’ has underlying mid tone. High tone on the verb marks the perfective aspect:

- (31) *na tí fun*
 1SG eat.PERF food
 ‘I ate’

Other aspects are marked by independent morphemes and the verb with its underlying tone:

- (32) *na wó ti fun*
 1SG IMPF eat food
 ‘I am eating’

- (33) *na dè ti fun*
 1SG FUT eat food
 'I will eat'

The subjunctive mood is marked by a dedicated set of subjunctive subject pronouns (see chapters 5 and 9). The verb carries its underlying tone, with no additional markers:

- (34) *à ne ye*
 2M.SBJV run/give PERM
 'run!' or 'give!' (SBJV: subjunctive; PERM: permission (see chapter 9))

Compare with the perfective, coded by high tone and the use of a subject pronoun from the indicative set:

- (35) *ha né si*
 2M run ASSERT
 'you ran/fled'

In natural discourse, it appears that the high tone that marks the perfective aspect may not be absolute but may be relative to the morpheme that precedes the verb. When the syllable preceding the verb has low tone, the verb marked for perfective aspect sometimes has what would appear to be mid tone in other environments. This observation is based on the examination of pitch using audio recordings and the Praat program (<http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>). After a morpheme with mid tone, the perfective verb often has higher pitch than the perfective verb after a morpheme with low tone. In the following example, both instances of the perfective form *nyén*, preceded by a syllable with mid tone, have high pitch and are therefore marked for high tone:

- (36) *mota nyén dapà ga? tʃibáyrúm baĩyén dàpà ga? ...*
mòta nyen dapà ga? ti báyrúm bay nyen dapa ga?
 car (Ful.) fill bank side PROX much CONJ fill bank side
day? báyrúm tòʔò (error)² tàʔ-à
dáy? báyrúm tòʔ tàʔ-à
 DIST.F much near also-FV
 'Cars filled the banks on this side and that side (the other side) as well.'

2 The use of the adverbial *tòʔ*, meaning 'near the speaker', is an error when used with the phrase *ga? day?* 'that side'. However, the adverbial *tòʔ* can be used with the phrase *ga? ti* 'this side'.

In the next example, the verb ‘to leave’ in the perfective is preceded by a syllable with low tone. The pitch of *ɔya* is that of mid tone rather than high tone:

- (37) *nambà ɔya ti ... kə ndzíkèt (error) əə ndzìke vaɫ mə*
nambà ɔyá ti kə ndzíkèt əə ndzìke vaɫ mə
 1PL leave PROX ASSC iron (error) eh iron five REL
riyà
riya
 evening
 ‘We left here at five o’clock in the evening.’³

The use of high vs. mid tone on the perfective verb is not completely predictable from the tone that precedes it. In the next example, the final syllable of the 1PL subject pronoun has low tone and yet the perfective verb has high tone:

- (38) *nambà gá vǎ ʒye*
nambà gáy? vun ʒè
 1PL stay mouth river
 ‘We stayed by the riverbank.’

The tentative conclusion is that the high tone that codes the perfective aspect is actually relative high tone with respect to the preceding morpheme, and that tone on lexical items can be superseded by intonation and stress patterns with discourse functions. Vowel quality may also be a factor, as relative high tone on a high vowel often has higher pitch than the relative high tone on a low vowel. The tone of the isolated or unmarked form of a given morpheme is taken to be the underlying tone, but even this tone is not necessarily consistent.

The role of tone in the coding of tense and aspect is further discussed in chapters 8 and 9.

6 Conclusion

The phonological system of Pévè involves 35 consonant phonemes, five phonemic oral vowels, and five phonemic nasalized vowels. Consonant palatalization before a front vowel, and sometimes a high back vowel, is a common phe-

3 Use of the term *ndzìke* ‘iron’ in referring to a point in time stems from the metal watches introduced by Europeans.

nomenon. All consonants and vowels are attested in syllable-initial position. All vowels are also attested in medial and final position. As in most Chadic languages, the distribution of consonants in intervocalic and syllable-final position is much more limited. Most syllables are of the form (C)(C)V(C). The only syllable-final consonant clusters in Pév  consist of a consonant followed by a glottal stop. Unlike in some Chadic languages, all lexical and grammatical categories in P    share the same phonological constraints.

P    has three tones: high, mid and low. Tone plays a role in lexical distinctions within and across lexical categories. The surface tone of a verb or a personal pronoun may carry a grammatical function as well. Relative high tone on the verb codes perfective aspect, while in all other aspects the verb carries its underlying tone. Intonation, stress, and neighboring tones may affect, and sometimes supersede, the tone of a given morpheme. The range of tonal variation in a wide number of lexical and morphological items calls for further research.

Parsing Morphology

1 Introduction

Many lexical and grammatical morphemes in Pévé show an alternation between the phrase-internal form and the phrase-final form, which consists of the phrase-internal form with an added final vowel. A phrase-final vowel can be added to any morpheme whose citation form ends in a consonant, provided that grammatical rules allow the morpheme to occur in phrase-final position. A morpheme that has no meaning unless it is followed by additional material does not undergo phrase-final vowel addition.

As illustrated below, use of the phrase-final form of a given morpheme tells the listener that the morpheme is the final component of the grammatical constituent to which it belongs; in other words, that the constituent contains all of the information that the speaker wishes to include, regardless of whether the constituent is grammatically complete. A morpheme in phrase-internal form, in contrast, tells the listener to expect more material within the same constituent. With respect to final vowel alternation, the terms ‘phrase-internal form’ and ‘phrase-final form’ are used for simplicity. The term ‘parsing morphology’ refers to the alternation between phrase-internal forms and phrase-final forms and the functions they perform.

2 Existing Approaches

The alternation between a given morpheme with a final vowel and the same morpheme without a final vowel has been subject to a variety of analyses in Chadic linguistic literature. Most analyses (Barreteau and Le Bléis 1990, Newman 2000, Frajzyngier with Shay 2002, Newman and Vanheuveren 1981, and others) view the contrast as being between a prepausal form, which has a final vowel (in some cases a long vowel), and a non-prepausal or sentence-internal form, which does not have a final vowel. In most such studies it is assumed that the final vowel is underlying and that it is deleted in non-prepausal position.

Analyses based on the prepausal/non-prepausal contrast do not account for contrasts of the type found in Pévé. In both of the following sentences the first-person singular pronoun is phrase-final, yet one form has a final vowel and one

does not. Either form can be followed by a pause. Phrase-internal vowel deletion cannot be a factor, as the isolated 1SG pronoun has the form *nàn* rather than **nàna*:

- (1) *ta gí kwáti ne nàn-a*
 3F make food ADP 1SG.O-FV
 'she made me some food' (FV: final vowel)

vs.

- (2) *ta gí kwáti ne nàn*
 3F make food ADP 1SG.O
 'she made me some food'

The question, therefore, is why a given morpheme has a final vowel in certain utterances and not in others. As shown below, the distinction in Pévé between the vowel-final form and the form without a final vowel occurs with lexical and grammatical morphemes of many different categories.

In Pévé, the contrast between the phrase-final added vowel and the absence of an added vowel resembles, to some extent, the contrast between final vowel addition and final vowel deletion in Wandala (Central Chadic). Frajzyngier 2016b describes the function of the two forms in Wandala, termed 'parsing morphology', as follows:

While neither of the forms indicates any specific semantic relation, they both enable the listener to parse the sentence into units that can undergo further analysis and allow for inferences about a large number of semantic relations within the clause and within the sentence.

FRAJZYNGIER 2016b: 1

While the concept of parsing morphology broadly applies to the alternation between phrase-internal and phrase-final forms in Pévé, the function of parsing morphology in Pévé differs from the forms and functions in Wandala, as shown below. The following sections describe the form and distribution of phrase-final vowels in Pévé and the functions of phrase-internal and phrase-final forms.

3 Distribution of Phrase-Final Forms

3.1 *Attested Phrase-Final Forms*

In Pévé, a final vowel can be added to a morpheme whose underlying form ends in a consonant, including a glide or a glottal stop. The added final vowel, glossed 'FV', is usually a copy of the preceding vowel of the morpheme to which the vowel is added. The cardinal vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ all occur as added vowels in the data base. The added vowel occurs with grammatical and lexical items of many kinds, including nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and quantifiers:

- (3) *vay wá tʃiʔ-i*
child IMPF cry
'the baby is crying'

- (4) *à tsar fraɣ riʔ-i*
2M arise above already-FV
'you'd better get up!'

- (5) *mum súk kə mbà zà bàkà tʃɛp-e*
3M stay ASSC 1PL.O PREP day few-FV
'he stayed with us for a few days'

- (6) *ta kə sàlay-a*
3F ASSC money-FV
'she has money'

- (7) *nambà kə mbi sə-só-o*
1PL water REL cold-cold-FV
'we have very cold water'

- (8) *mum tá hay? bay um-u*
3M go PREP friend 3M.POSS-FV
'he went next to his friend'

The phrase-final added vowel carries the [±nasal] feature of the preceding vowel:

- (9) *ta géwa lúmò bay ta pemãy-ã*
3F return market CONJ 3F rest-FV
'she came back from the market and rested'

A phrase-final vowel can be added to a morpheme that ends in a vowel followed by a glottal stop, evidence that the final glottal stop is underlying (see chapter 2):

- (10) *ndáʔ nə uráʔ-a*
 horse PROX black-FV
 'this horse is black'
- (11) *na wé nẽʔ-ẽ*
 1SG see hippopotamus-FV
 'I saw a/the hippopotamus'

There are certain forms that do not exhibit an alternation between an added phrase-final vowel and the lack of an added vowel. A phrase-final vowel cannot be added to a morpheme whose underlying form (identical with the citation form) ends in a front or back vowel, as defined in chapter 2. The adposition *ne*, the pronoun *nù* (2M.O), the adjective *kí*, and the nouns *lúmò* 'market' (Fulfulde) and *bàkà* 'morning' all have underlying final back or front vowels and cannot be followed by an additional final vowel:

- (12) *mum wó sá tsob man ne-ʔe*
 3M IMPF 3F.O buy 1SG.O ADP-ʔFV
 'he is buying it for me'
- (13) *na ín dàn ne nù-ʔu*
 1SG say word ADP 2M.O-ʔFV
 'I told you something'
- (14) *ya nãw kí-ʔi*
 fem. bovine small-ʔFV
 'the cow is small'
- (15) *Taú tá lúmò-ʔo*
 T. go market-ʔFV
 'Tau went to the market'
- (16) *Taú tá lúmò tám kə bàkà-ʔa*
 T. go market today ASSC morning-ʔFV
 'Tau went to the market this morning.'

Other forms that cannot be marked by the phrase-final vowel include forms whose function is based on the material that follows. A preposition, for example, can function as a preposition only when followed by a noun. The associative preposition *kə* never occurs in phrase-final position:

- (17) *na tsú kə ri mí*
 1SG NEG ASSC time/space NEG
 'I don't have time/space'

The same is true of the locative preposition *wə* 'in, at, to':

- (18) *na tá wə Garoua*
 1SG walk PREP G.
 'I went to Garoua'

The imperfective marker *wə́* carries the aspectual function only when it precedes a verb, and so cannot occur in phrase-final position:

- (19) *na wə́ dʒì (wa) Gwà*
 1SG IMPF wait PREP G.
 'I'm waiting for Gwà'

Similarly with the future tense marker *dà*, which precedes the head verb:

- (20) *ta dà ge ndoʔ sin sá*
ta dà ge ndoʔ sin sàr ye
 3F FUT finish work 3F.POSS near only
 'she will finish her work very soon'

3.2 *Phrase-Final Vowel -a*

The range of phrase-final vowel forms shown above suggests that the phrase-final vowel itself does not have an underlying form. However, there is some evidence that the phrase-final vowel has (or used to have) the underlying form *a*. This is of particular interest because the word-final vowel *à* is part of the system of parsing morphology in Wandala (Frajzyngier 2012), a language remotely related to Pévé.

As shown in chapter 2, the high central vowel *ə* in Pévé can be either epenthetic or phonemic. A number of grammatical items have the underlying form (CV)*Cə* (see chapter 2 for evidence that word-final *ə* can be found in both underlying and citation forms):

- (21) *bay Taobay nə gaʔ gazù*
bay Taobay nə gaʔ ka su
 CONJ T. DED.M side where Q
 ‘‘So where is this Taobay?’’
- (22) *na ráʔ tím̀bì kunə kádàn gi tsoḃ rum(-u)*
 1SG take calabash DED.PL PURP make purchase 3SG(-FV)
 ‘I took the calabashes in order to sell them.’
- (23) *dayna òukrí m̀ə tám ... ta dà ge ndoʔ sin sá*
 after night REL today 3F FUT throw finish work 3F.POSS
sì
 ASSERT
 ‘after tonight, she will finish her work’ [Note that *tám* ‘today’ has no final vowel, despite its pre-pausal position. This provides further evidence that the Pèvé has phrase-final vowel addition, not phrase-internal vowel deletion.]

Forms ending in *ə* in isolation or in phrase-internal position may have a final *-a* in phrase-final position, as illustrated below. There is no evidence that the final *a* is underlying:

- (24) *ta tá hayʔ bay s-á*
 3F go PREP friend 3F.POSS-FV
 ‘she₁ went beside her_{1,2} friend’
- (25) *na fáŋ mbá kádàn ve ndaʔ n-a*
 1SG repeat come PURP take horse DED.M-FV
 ‘I came back to get the horse.’

Recall that the phrase-final vowel assimilates to the preceding vowel when the underlying form of the item in phrase-final position ends in a consonant (see chapter 2). When the item marked for phrase-final position has the underlying form (CV)Cə, the phrase-final vowel *-a* replaces the underlying *-ə* and does not assimilate to the preceding vowel:

- (26) *à kat sowã m̀ə náyʔ kun-a* (underlying form: *kunə*)
 2M.SBJV look people REL DIST.M DED.PL-FV
 ‘Look at those people over there!’

Cf. the phrase-internal form:

- (27) *na ráʔ tím̀bì kúnə kádàn gi tsoʔ rum(-u)*
 1SG take calabash DED.PL PURP make purchase 3SG(-FV)
 'I took the calabashes in order to sell them.'

It remains to be explained why the word-final ə can be replaced by the phrase-final marker *a* while other word-final vowels cannot (see *kí* 'small', *lúmò* 'market' and others, above) cannot. It is possible that the final ə in forms such as *só*, *nə*, *kúnə* and others was originally epenthetic and evolved into the independent or phrase-internal form after the grammaticalization of the phrase-final marker *a*. It is also possible that phonological rules involving the high central ə differ from those involving front and back vowels.

3.3 *Vowel Addition vs. Vowel Deletion*

Sections 3.1 and 3.2 show that the contrast between phrase-internal and phrase-final forms is a product of phrase-final vowel addition rather than phrase-internal vowel deletion. Further evidence is provided by the fact morphemes with an underlying final vowel—i.e., those that cannot undergo phrase-final vowel addition—retain the underlying vowel in phrase-internal position. The final vowel of the forms *lúmò* 'market', *bàkà* 'morning', and *fàtà* 'sun, day', for example, cannot be deleted in phrase-internal position. This shows that the final vowel of these words is underlying and that the alternation between final vowel and lack of a final vowel is a matter of phrase-final vowel addition, not phrase-internal vowel deletion or reduction:

- (28) *Taú tá lúmò/*lúm tám-á*
 T. go market today-FV
 for 'Tau went to the market today' (or any meaning)

- (29) *mum tá lúmò tám kə bàkà/*bàk si*
 3M go market today ASSC morning ASSERT
 for 'he went to the market this morning'

- (30) *fàtà/*fāt māsín*
 day other
 for 'once upon a time ...'

An additional piece of evidence for phrase-final vowel addition as opposed to phrase-internal vowel deletion is provided by the fact that a final vowel can be added to a borrowed proper noun whose isolated form ends in a consonant:

- (31) *namba zá? mbì mbá báyrúm wə zye salák-á*
 1PL find water come much PREP river Salák (Giz.)-FV
 'We found a lot of water had come into the Salák river.' (Salák is a village
 in the Far North province of Cameroon)
- (32) *ta tá hay? bay Erin-i*
 3F go PREP friend E.-FV
 'she went next to Erin's friend'

In short, evidence that phrase-internal forms are not products of final vowel deletion is provided by the fact that some morphemes have a final vowel in both phrase-internal and phrase-final position and that some phrase-final forms have a final vowel that does not occur in the citation form.

4 Function of Final Vowel Addition

The function of the phrase-final added vowel in Pévé is to indicate that the preceding morphological, lexical or grammatical unit is complete as far as the speaker is concerned and should be interpreted as such. This can be viewed as a subdomain within the domain of parsing morphology as described in Frajzyngier 2016b, though it differs from the function of parsing morphology in Wandala.

In Pévé, phrase-final vowel addition is not determined by whether or not the phrase, clause, or sentence with the final vowel is grammatically complete. In the following fragment, the first instantiation of the noun *dzənàk* 'guinea fowl' has a phrase-final vowel because the phrase *kəri məní*, which follows *dzənàk-à*, is always clause-initial. In other words, whatever precedes *kəri məní* must be marked as phrase-final regardless of whether or not it could function as a grammatically correct independent utterance. To put it another way, adding the final vowel to *dzənàk* indicates that the word *dzənàk* should be interpreted as a component of what has gone before and not what follows.

The second instantiation of *dzənàk* in the following example has no phrase-final vowel. This can be explained by the fact that the demonstrative plural *kunə* modifies *dzənàk* and so is part of the same unit, which may or may not be grammatically complete. Similarly, the final /ə/ in *kunə* is explained by the fact that it is followed by the assertive marker *si*, which occurs only in phrase-final position (recall that *kunə* becomes *kun-a* in phrase-final position). The phrase-internal forms *dzənàk* and *kunə* thus tell the listener to expect more information within

the same unit of the utterance, while the form *dzənàk-à* tells the listener not to expect more information within the same unit of the utterance:

- (33) *brògò ... ʔá táy ɡi tsoʔ dābāwə só*
brùk-ù ... ʔá tá ɡi tsoʔ dābāʔ wə só
 monitor lizard-FV depart for sell tobacco PREP village
dzənàk-à kəri mənɪ mum tá dáy ... wə sə dzənàk
dzənàk-à kəri mənɪ mum tá dáy wá só dzənàk
 guinea fowl-FV when 3M reach PREP village guinea fowl
kune sí mum zá nde [wá ...] ɡay zù gu
kunə si mum záʔ ndáy [wá ...] ɡáyʔ zə gú
 PL ASSERT 3M found 3PL.O (error) sit under tree
 'Monitor Lizard went to sell tobacco in the village of the guinea fowls.
 When he got to the village of the guinea fowls, he found them sitting
 under a tree.'

In the next example, the initial clause *nambà ɡáyʔ vun zè nə* ('we stayed at the riverbank') is grammatically complete and could be used in isolation if the form *nə* (/n/+epenthic vowel), which signals that the head noun refers to a known entity, were changed to *n-a*. The absence of an added final vowel, i.e., use of the form *nə* rather than *n-a*, tells the listener to expect more information about what has gone before. While the grammatical system of the language determines whether a given grammatical unit is grammatically complete, the presence or absence of the phrase-final vowel determines whether the hearer should expect more material in whatever grammatical construction the speaker has chosen for conveying the information:

- (34) *nambà ɡá və ʒye ndəɡandzikee ... syádǎʔ har*
nambà ɡáyʔ vun ʒye nə daka ndzike sɛdǎʔ há
 1PL stay mouth river DED.M from iron seven until
dáy ndzike vát mənən bəkà
dáy ndzike vát mə vun bəkà
 arrive iron five REL mouth morning
 'We stayed by the riverbank from seven o'clock until five o'clock in the morning.'

Cf.

- (35) *nambà ɡáyʔ vun ʒye n-a*
 1PL stay mouth river DED.M-FV
 'we stayed by the riverbank'

A phrase-final vowel cannot be added to a morpheme when the material that follows that morpheme is part of the same unit of the utterance, i.e., when the material that follows can only be interpreted in the context of what has gone before. In the next example, *rùm* (3M.POSS) has no added vowel because the constituent that follows, namely *fol-o* ‘whitish’, cannot be interpreted in the context of the material that follows. Adding a final vowel to *rùm* would force the listener to view the form *fol-o* as the first component of the clause that follows. The absence of a phrase-final vowel after *fol* would tell the listener to expect more information within the same constituent, but this would be unfeasible since the next morpheme in the text is the preverbal (and usually clause-initial) subject pronoun *na*:

- (36) *mum lá? i wa rùm fol-o na lá? mbá*
 3M say COMP head 3M.POSS whitish-FV 1SG COND come
si na gàk ùm zà? si
 COND 1SG can 3M.O find ASSERT
 ‘He said his head is whitish; if I come, I can find him.’

The form *fol* ‘whitish’ does not require a final vowel in order to be grammatical, since the clause *wa rùm fol* can be used in isolation.

In the following example, which also involves form *rùm*, the phrase-final vowel *-u* indicates that the phrase that precedes it is complete and that what follows is new material. Evidence for this is that the direct-speech phrase that follows *rùm-u* can stand alone:

- (37) a. *mum gwa?ətfĩvə rùm-u syamdyewũ dyè*
mum gwa? tfĩvun rùm-u syemde wũ de
 3SG then ask 3M.POSS-FV name 2M.POSS call
maa su
ma su
 what Q
 ‘He then asked him (‘requested his mouth’), “What do they call you?”’

Cf.

- b. *syamdyewũ dyè maa su*
syemde wũ de ma su
 name 2M.POSS call what Q
 “What do they call you?”

Evidence that the phrase-final vowel is not connected with grammatical completeness is provided by the following example, where two noun phrases have the same structure but the vowel can be added only after the speaker has finished expressing the idea:

- (38) *handày tsób ya nãw dǎw(-*a) kə hu dǎw-a*
 3PL buy cow one(-*FV) ASSC goat one-FV
 ‘they bought one cow and one goat’

Further evidence that absence of the phrase-internal vowel is not determined by pre-pausal position is that a form without the added vowel can, and often does, occur before a pause:

- (39) *mum gé dǎwǎ səlay ùm... bruk ne nùm-u*
 3M reimburse money 3M.POSS monitor lizard ADP 3M.O-FV
 ‘He gave his money—Monitor Lizard’s (money)—back to him.’

- (40) *dayna dùkri mà tám... ta dǎ ge ndo? sin sá*
 after night REL today 3F FUT throw finish work 3F.POSS
si
 ASSERT
 ‘after tonight, she will finish her work’

- (41) *kar ri? ... a tsarfray ri?-i*
 look already 2M.SBJV get up already-FV
 ‘look here, you’d better get up!’

Interestingly, the lack of a phrase-final vowel where such a vowel would be expected, e.g. at the end of an utterance that is grammatically and semantically complete, places emphasis on the final element of the constituent. This is illustrated by the following elicited exchange:

Speaker 1:

- (42) *Taú tá lúmò tám-á*
 T. go market today-FV
 ‘Tau went to the market today’

Speaker 2:

(43) *Taú tá lúmò tám*

T. went market today

'Tau went to the market *today*?' (expressing disbelief)

5 Conclusion

Lexical and grammatical morphemes in Pévé show a formal alternation between the phrase-internal form, which is also the isolated form, and the phrase-final form, which consists of the phrase-internal form with an added final vowel. When a phrase-final constituent ends in a consonant in the isolated form, the vowel added to the constituent in phrase-final position is a copy of the vowel that precedes the final consonant. When the phrase-final constituent ends in *a* in the isolated form, the vowel *a* is deleted in phrase-final position and replaced by *ə*, which may be the underlying form of the phrase-final vowel. When the phrase-final constituent ends in a front or back vowel in the isolated form, the underlying final vowel is retained and the phrase-final marker *a* cannot be used. A morpheme that has no meaning or function unless it is followed by additional material does not undergo phrase-final vowel addition.

The contrast between the phrase-final form and the phrase-internal form of a given morpheme tells the listener how to parse the utterance. When a morpheme has an added final vowel, the morpheme is interpreted as the final component of the constituent to which it belongs. The constituent does not have to be grammatically complete, but it must contain all of the information that the speaker intends to include in that constituent. When a morpheme is in phrase-internal form, the listener expects more material within the same constituent. If the next morpheme is also in phrase-internal form, the listener expects still more material within the same constituent, and so on. While the contrast between the phrase-final added vowel and the absence of an added vowel in Pévé is not identical with the contrast between final vowel retention and final vowel reduction/deletion in Wandala, both may be considered functions within the domain of parsing morphology.

Verbs

1 Introduction

This chapter describes the phonological structure of verbs; the (very limited) morphology of verbs; forms and functions of compound verbs; nominalized verbs, i.e. verbs that function as nouns in certain constructions; and verbs that encode the number (singular or plural) of certain participants in the clause. Serial verb constructions and reduplicated verbs are described later in the volume, in accordance with the functions that they encode. All verbal forms used in the text below are in the citation (unmarked) form unless otherwise stated. For purposes of this chapter, the definition of ‘verb’ is a form that can serve, without additional marking, as the predicate of a verbal proposition.

2 Phonological Structure of the Verb

Unlike in some Chadic languages (Pero, Frajzyngier 1989; Gidar, Frajzyngier 2008; and perhaps others), where verbs and nouns have different phonological structures, all lexical and grammatical items in Pév  appear to have the same phonological structures. All of the syllable structures that are attested in verbs are also found in nouns, modifiers, adjuncts, and grammatical morphemes, and there are some homophonous verbs and nouns that do not appear to be related, e.g. *dʒí* ‘to tend, to watch over’ vs. *dʒí* ‘dense forest’.

The majority of verbs in Pév  are monosyllabic and have the form CV or CVC. A few verbs are attested with an initial or final consonant cluster, often involving a word-initial or word-final glottal stop. A few vowel-initial verbs are also recorded. Here are examples of the monosyllabic forms attested in Pév  verbs:

V	<i>o</i> ‘to ask’
VC	<i>il</i> ‘to scoop a liquid’
CV	<i>ve</i> ‘to take’, <i>ʔi</i> ‘to insult’, <i>pã</i> ‘to leave’
CCV	<i>ʔna</i> ‘to throw away’
CVC	<i>ʒaʔ</i> ‘to dance’, <i>par</i> ‘to remove’, <i>ndzay</i> ‘to pour grain’
CCVC	<i>krut</i> ‘to undress’, <i>plaʔ</i> ‘to push’
CVCV	<i>gewa</i> ‘to return (intrans.)’
CVCVC	<i>pemã</i> ‘to rest’

The bisyllabic verb *gewa* ‘to return’ in the list above is the result of compounding: *ge* ‘to throw’ + *wa* ‘head’ (N). It is likely that other polysyllabic verbs are also the result of compounding, though their component meanings are not necessarily obvious. Compounding is discussed in detail in section 4.1.

3 Morphology

Verbal morphology in Pév  is limited to four categories: (a) tone changes coding the perfective aspect, (b) parsing morphology (see chapter 3), (c) *nomen agentis* prefixes (see chapter 5), which derive nouns from verbs, and (d) reduplication, which is discussed in later chapters according to the functions encoded. Unlike most Chadic languages described so far, P  v  has no means of coding the person, gender, or number of the subject (or any other participant) on the verb. However, as shown in section 5 below, the choice of the verb itself can be a means of coding singularity or plurality of the subject or object.

The following sections describe the morphological forms and functions found in P  v .

3.1 *Perfective Aspect*

The only typically verbal function that can be marked on the verb in P  v  is the perfective aspect, marked by high tone on the first syllable of the verb. As shown in chapters 8 and 9, all other tenses, aspects, and moods involve the unmarked (also called the non-perfective) form of the verb along with markers outside the main verb. Therefore, only the perfective aspect is discussed in this section. The function of the perfective aspect is described in chapter 8.

The tone of the non-perfective (unmarked) form of the verb is considered to be the underlying tone. Most verbs have mid tone in the unmarked form. The bisyllabic verb *gewa* ‘to return to another place’, for example, has underlying mid tone in the citation form and in non-perfective forms:

- (1) *mum w  gewa Garoua*
 3M IMPF return G.
 ‘he is returning to Garoua’
- (2) *mum d  gewa Garoua s w*
 3M FUT return G. tomorrow
 ‘he will return to Garoua tomorrow’

The perfective aspect is marked by high tone on the first syllable of the verb:

- (3) *handà y géwa Garoua si*
 3PL return G. ASSERT
 'they returned from Garoua'

A few verbs have underlying low tone, e.g. *tà* 'to walk', *wà?* 'to want, to need', and *dà* 'to go':

- (4) *ta wá tà*
 3F IMPF walk
 'she is walking'
- (5) *ta dà tà*
 3F FUT walk
 'she will walk'

In the perfective aspect, the low-tone verb, like the mid-tone verb, has high tone. Evidence for the perfective function is provided by use of the adverbial *kúm* 'yesterday', which indicates that the event occurred before the time of speech:

- (6) *Gwà tá lúmò kúm kádàn tsof keve*
 G. go market yesterday PURP buy fish
 for 'Gwa went to the market yesterday to buy fish'

An even smaller set of verbs has underlying high tone. Evidence for the underlying high tone is provided by the fact that the verb with high tone occurs in non-perfective constructions:

- (7) *na wá dʒí hu*
 1SG IMPF watch goat(s)
 'I'm watching the goats'
- (8) *à dà dʒí hu*
 2M.SBJV FUT watch goat(s)
 'go watch the goats!'

Cf. the perfective form, which also has high tone. Note that the only means of coding the perfective aspect is retention of the underlying high tone and the absence of any other marks of tense or aspect:

- (9) *mum dʒí hu*
 3M watch goat(s)
 'he watched the goat(s)'

Such verbs provide evidence that tone on the verb is underlying and that high tone on the verb codes the perfective aspect.

3.2 *Parsing Morphology*

Parsing morphology involves adding a final vowel to the morpheme in phrase-final position. The phrase-final morpheme can be a verb:

- (10) *Taú fól-ó*
 T. slaughter-FV
 'Tau slaughtered'
- (11) *vay wá tʃi?-i*
 child IMPF cry
 'the baby is crying'

Cf. the same verbs in phrase-internal position:

- (12) *Taú fól ya nãw-á*
 T. slaughter cow-FV
 'Tau slaughtered the cow'
- (13) *ha tʃi? mi su*
 2M cry what Q
 'Why are you crying?'

Parsing morphology also applies to most other lexical and grammatical categories in Pévé (see chapter 3).

4 Derivation

This section describes means for deriving verbs from other verbs and means for using verbs as nouns. The derivational means involved are compounding and zero derivation, i.e. a change in function without an overt change of form. Reduplication, also a form of verbal derivation, is discussed in later chapters, as reduplication has functions in a number of grammatical domains.

4.1 *Compound Verbs*

Many verbs in Pévé are derived through compounding, where a compound is defined as two or more independent words that function as a single lexical item. As is the case with many compounds across languages, the meaning of the compound is not necessarily predictable from the meaning of its components.

Many attested compound verbs in Pévé consist of a verb followed by a noun, e.g. *dàm kwá* 'to sew' (*dàm* 'to pluck'+*kwá* 'thing'); *nde fyèn*: 'to fall asleep' (*nde* 'to fall'+*fyèn* 'mat, place for sleeping'); *tá rəkway* 'to travel' (*tá* 'to go, to walk'+*rəkway* 'stranger' (probably derived from the noun *ri* 'place' followed by an unidentified morpheme)); and *káwri* 'arrive' (*káw* 'grab'+*ri* 'place'). There is at least one compound with three components: *gi tsoḅ kwá* 'to sell' (*gi* 'make'+*tsoḅ* 'purchase (N)', *kwá* 'thing'), which serves as a colloquial form of the compound *gi tsoḅ* 'to sell'.

In some cases the noun within a compound has the same form as a verb with a related meaning. For example, the noun *tsoḅ* 'purchase' in the compound *gi tsoḅ* 'to sell' has the same form as the verb *tsoḅ* 'to buy', and the noun *yaw* 'fight' in the compound *gi yaw* 'to cause a fight, to get into a fight' has the same form as the verb *yaw* 'to fight'. For this reason, one could argue that such compounds are actually serial verbs. If one accepts that *tsoḅ* and *yaw* do represent nouns, one could argue that the noun is not part of a compound but instead functions as the direct object of the preceding verb. Both approaches are addressed below.

Evidence that the second component of the compound verbs listed above is a noun and not a verb, and therefore is not part of a serial verb construction, is that the pronominal direct object following the verb is represented by a possessive pronoun from the inalienable set (see chapter 5) rather than a pronoun from the object set. In the next example, the pronominal direct object is represented by the inalienable possessive pronoun *rum*. If *tsoḅ* were a verb in this construction, there would be no possessum for the possessive pronoun *rum* to modify:

- (14) *na gí tsoḅ rum si*
 1SG sell 3M.POSS ASSERT
 'I sold it' (lit. 'I made/caused its purchase')

Compare with the clause below, in which *tsoḅ* functions as a verb. Here, the object is marked by a pronoun from the perfective direct object set (see chapters 5 and 6):

- (15) *na tsóḅ nùm si*
 1SG buy 3M.O ASSERT
 'I bought it'

Evidence that the noun within the compound does not function as the object of the verb that precedes it is provided by the fact that another nominal or pronominal direct object may follow the compound. In the following example, *səlay* 'money' is the direct object of the compound verb *gé dāwǎ*, consisting of the verb *ge* 'to throw' followed by the noun *dāwǎ* 'back, nape of neck'. If *dāwǎ* were in fact the direct object of *gé*, the noun *səlay* could not occur in this position:

- (16) *kəri rùm ndày fáṅ kàw Taobày ndày faṅ ...*
kəri rùm [ha]ndày fáṅ kaw Taobay ndày faṅ ...
 when 3M.POSS 3PL arrest ('repeat grab') T. 3PL repeat
ndày gyé dāwǎ səlay ùm (error) ... bruk ne
ndày gé dāwǎ səlay ùm brùk ne
 3PL give back money 3M.POSS monitor lizard ADP
nám-u
nùm-u
 3M.POSS-FV
 'Then they arrested Taobay and they returned—he gave his money—
 Monitor Lizard's (money)—back to him.'

The next example involves the compound verb *gí tsoḅ* 'sell'; the direct object *mbìr* 'milk', whose function is marked by the position after the compound verb; and the indirect object *nù*, whose function as recipient is marked by the adposition *ne*. As there is no possible construction *S V O O IO, it is clear that *tsoḅ* is part of the compound verb rather than the object of the preceding verb *gí*:

- (17) *ta gítsoḅ mbìr kí ne nù*
 3F sell milk small give 2M.O
 'she sold you a little milk'

In a clause marked for perfective aspect, only the first component of the compound—i.e., the verb—has the high tone that marks the perfective aspect:

- (18) *mum gítsoḅ ya nãw wə lúmò*
 3M sell cow PREP market
 'he sold a cow at the market'

The word *tsoḅ* alone, with the verbal function 'to buy', has high tone in the perfective aspect:

- (19) *na tsóḅ vú kúm-ú*
 1SG buy salt yesterday-FV
 'I bought salt yesterday'

Compound verbs of the form Verb+Noun co-exist with serial verb constructions of the form Verb+Verb (see chapter 10 and later chapters). The proliferation of compound verbs and serial verbs in Puvé allows the verbal piece to express a number of fine distinctions that in some other languages might be expressed periphrastically or through the use of verbal extensions or modifiers.

4.2 *Nominalized Verbs*

In this section, a nominalized verb refers to a verb that functions as a noun in a certain construction. As shown in section 4.1, in a number of cases there is no phonological distinction between a verb and a corresponding noun, e.g. *tsoḅ* 'purchase' (noun or verb) and *ɣaw* 'fight' (noun or verb). Other examples include *ně?* 'to curse' vs. *ně?* 'curse' (noun), and the forms *gã* 'to freeloader', i.e. to wait until one is offered a free meal, vs. *gã* 'free meal':

- (20) *mum gã dzuk-u*
 3M freeloader much-FV
 'he's always freeloading'
- (21) *mum byek gã*
 3M wait (Mun.) free meal
 'he is waiting for a free meal'

In the next example the form *fól*, the unmarked form of the verb ‘to slaughter’, functions as the object of the verb *mún*, as evidenced by the postverbal position of *fól*. Note that the same form also functions as a verb later in the same construction:

- (22) *na mún mum fól ya nǎw mà ni mum fól-ó*
 1SG hear 3M.O slaughter cow REL PRO 3M slaughter-FV
 ‘I heard him slaughtering a cow’ (lit. ‘I heard the slaughtering of the cow that he slaughtered’)

One test for whether a given lexical item functions as a verb or as a noun is whether it can be marked by a preposition. In the following example, *ʒi* the verb ‘to play’ is the object of the associative preposition *kə* and therefore functions as a noun. The preposition cannot be omitted:

- (23) *bay ... yii ... ʒeagəʒi gày?gándày*
bay yii ʒé kə ʒi gày? kə ndày
 CONJ squirrel start ASSC play game ASSC 3PL.O
 ‘So Squirrel immediately started to play *gày?* with them.’

In the next example the evidence that the verb *tʃi?* ‘to cry’ is nominalized is that the noun following the verb represents the possessor rather than the direct object of the verb:

- (24) *tʃi? vay wá màn gun-u*
 cry child IMPF 1SG.O bother-FV
 ‘the child’s crying is bothering me’

Another test for whether a form is nominalized is whether it can be modified by a possessive pronoun. Attempts to elicit some nominalized verbs modified by a possessive pronoun resulted instead in verbless attributive clauses. This suggests that, despite the fact that some verbs can be nominalized through zero-derivation, this may not be true for all verbs:

- (25) *mum dām kwá báy-á*
 3M sew thing good-FV
 ‘he sews well’ (for ‘his sewing is good’)
- (26) *handày dām só báy-á*
 3PL build house good-FV
 ‘they build houses well’ (for ‘their house-building is good’)

- (27) *nambà tsú bá só ndo? mə to?-o*
 1PL NEG clean house finish NEG yet-FV
 ‘we haven’t finished cleaning the house yet’ (for ‘our housecleaning is not done yet’)

In summary, an inherent verb may function as a noun in certain constructions without changes in form. Evidence that a verb acts as a noun in a given clause includes use of a preposition before the verb, use of a verb in object position, or use of a possessive pronoun as a modifier of the verb. As is the case in most languages, the number of verbs that can function as nouns is limited.

5 Singular vs. Plural Verbs

As shown in chapter 4, there is no productive morphological means of marking the singularity or plurality of a noun in Pévé. As is the case in many Chadic languages, some verbs in Pévé are inherently either singular or plural (see Newman 1990). Examples in Pévé include *pã* ‘to exit’ (singular subject) vs. *wur* ‘to exit’ (plural subject) and *dūr* ‘to pick one thing’ vs. *be* ‘to pick a number of things’. The evidence for the singular/plural distinction in Pévé is provided by clauses where the choice of verb reflects the number of the pronominal subject:

- (28) *əŋ suk nyá*
 2F.SBJV sit (SG) ground
 ‘you sit down!’ (2F is singular)

Cf. the plural form:

- (29) *ì gáy? nyã*
 2PL.SBJV sit (PL) ground
 ‘you (PL) sit down!’

Another example:

- (30) *à pã ye*
 2M.SBJV exit (SG) PERM
 ‘you get out of here!’

Cf. the plural verb form:

- (31) *kərí m̀àni só vé kú, handày wúr kə ne*
 when house take fire 3PL exit (PL) ASSC run
 ‘when the fire started, they fled’ (lit. ‘they exited with a run’)

Because most nouns in Pévè are not marked for the singular/plural distinction (see chapter 5), the choice of verb is in some cases the only means of indicating the number of the object. The noun *nãw*, glossed as ‘bovine’, does not distinguish between singular and plural. In a transitive clause, the numerical distinction is marked by the choice of verb:

- (32) *Taú tá rá? nãw*
 T. walk gather (PL) bovine
 ‘Tau gathered cattle’

Compare the singular form, with the same object noun and a different verb:

- (33) *mum té nãw Taú*
 3M take (SG) bovine T.
 ‘he took Tau’s cow’

The singular or plural number of the noun *tímbì* ‘calabash’ is also marked by the choice of verb:

- (34) *nambà rá? tímbì*
 1PL take (PL) calabash
 ‘we took several/many calabashes’

- (35) *nambà té tímbì*
 1PL take (SG) calabash
 ‘we took a calabash’

In short, the choice of verb is sometimes the only means of indicating the numerical value of a noun phrase. Marking the plurality or singularity of participants though the choice of verbs is distinct from coding the plurality of events.

6 Conclusion

Most verbs in Puvé are monosyllabic and have the form CV or CVC. Verbs share the same phonological constraints that apply to all other lexical categories. The verb carries high tone in the perfective aspect and maintains its underlying tone (high, mid, or low) in all other temporal, aspectual, or modal functions. The discussion of verbal morphology in this chapter is limited to the coding of perfective aspect and to parsing morphology (described in chapter 3), i.e. the presence or absence of a phrase-final vowel. Also described in this chapter are the functions of verbal compounds, nominalized verbs, and verbs that distinguish between singularity and plurality of the subject in the intransitive clause and singularity and plurality of the object in the transitive clause. The functions of reduplicated verbs and serial verb constructions are described in later chapters based on the functions that the forms encode.

Nouns and the Noun Phrase

1 Introduction

A noun is defined here as a lexical item that functions, without additional marking, as an argument of a verbal or verbless predication. This chapter describes the phonological structure of nouns in Pévé, the morphology of nouns, the derivation of nouns from other lexical categories, and the structures and functions of various types of noun phrases. The chapter also describes the forms and functions of various lexical and grammatical morphemes used to modify nouns, including adjectives, determiners, possessive pronouns, numerals, and quantifiers.

Modifiers in noun phrases can be divided into two broad categories: those that precede the head noun (prenominal) and those that follow the head noun (postnominal). The first category consists of a finite set of nouns that code the natural gender of the head-noun referent, the relative size of the referent, the relative age of the referent, and the inherent importance of the referent. All other modifiers follow the head noun. These modifiers include attributive adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, nouns in the possessive function, possessive pronouns, and determiners coding deictic and anaphoric reference (see also chapter 12). The form of the noun phrase is thus (Noun) Head (Adjective) (Possessor) (Determiner). In this form the noun before the head noun is limited to a marker of gender or relative size, and the possessor may be a pronoun from the possessive set or a noun in the possessive function.

Nominal morphology in Pévé consists of parsing morphology, described in chapter 3; *nomen agentis* prefixes; and compounding. Most Pévé nouns do not code a singular vs. plural distinction. Plurality of the noun may be understood from context or may be indicated by use of a plural adjective, a plural determiner, or an inherently plural verb. A handful of suppletive plural nouns have also been recorded. Apart from a few nouns that code natural gender and the small set of prenominal modifiers that also code natural gender (section 5.1), the grammatical gender system in Pévé is limited to second- and third-person pronouns that code either masculine or feminine gender (see chapter 6).

2 Phonological Structure of the Noun

Most nouns, like most verbs, are monosyllabic, though a few bi- and trisyllabic nouns are attested. The phonotactic constraints that apply to verbs (see chapter 4) apply to nouns as well. Here are examples of the attested structures of nouns in Pévé:

V	<i>ú</i> 'guinea corn'; <i>i</i> 'eye'
CV	<i>kú</i> 'fire' (N); <i>mbi</i> 'water'
VCV	<i>àdà</i> 'dog' (<i>dá</i> or <i>dá</i> , for some speakers)
CCV	<i>zrá</i> 'hole'
CCCV	<i>kwra</i> 'agriculture'
CVC	<i>gi</i> 'boule', 'food'; <i>gám</i> 'male goat'; <i>ně?</i> 'hippopotamus' or 'curse' (homonyms)
CCVC	<i>mbraw</i> 'cotton', 'shirt', 'clothing'; <i>tràk</i> 'shoe(s)'; <i>gbəgboŋ</i> 'strength, force'; <i>blim</i> '(type of) drum'
CVCCV	<i>dukrí</i> 'night'
CCVCC	<i>dray?</i> 'pestle'
CCCVC	<i>mblam</i> 'route, road'; <i>mgbəmgbuŋ</i> 'lumbar region', 'basin'
CVCV	<i>keve</i> 'fish'; <i>bàkà</i> 'morning'; <i>ràbà</i> 'bouillie'
CVCVC	<i>dzənàk</i> 'guinea fowl'
CVCCVC	<i>dòknay</i> 'wealth'; <i>boknáy</i> 'elephant'

3 Number

There is no morphological marker of singularity or plurality on the noun in Pévé. For human referents there are a few instances of suppletive plurals, e.g.:

<i>vay</i> 'child'	<i>dàw</i> 'children'
<i>swə</i> 'person, someone'	<i>sowã</i> 'people' (< <i>swə</i> + <i>wã</i>)

There are also a few instances of plurals derived through compounding, where the compound plural form may or may not share any morphemes with the singular form:

ma 'woman' vs. *rawkwa* 'women' (*raw* 'many'+*kwa* 'thing')
səmàndzí 'man' (*swə* 'person' > [sə] +*mà* (REL)+*ndzí* 'male') vs. *ndzí-wkwa* 'men' (*ndzí* 'male'+*kwa* 'thing')

Whether the referent of a given noun is singular or plural may depend on context or on shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer:

- (1) *handày tsób hu*
 3PL buy goat(s)
 'they bought a goat/some goats'

The singular or plural nature of the noun can be specified by a numeral or an inherently plural quantifier in the position after the noun:

- (2) *handày tsób hu dǎw-á*
 3PL buy goat one-FV
 'they bought a/one goat'

Compare with the use of a plural quantifier, where *hu* remains unchanged:

- (3) *handày tsób hu raw-a*
 3PL buy goat many-FV
 'they bought many goats'

or:

- (4) *ha tsób hu madak su*
 2M bought goat how many/how much Q
 'how many goats did you buy?'

As shown in chapter 4, the choice of verb sometimes indicates singularity or plurality of the subject or object. In this case, no other marker of nominal plurality is necessary (examples 34 and 35 from chapter 4, repeated here):

- (5) *nambà lé tímbi*
 1PL take (SG) calabash
 'we took a calabash'
- (6) *nambà rá? tímbi*
 1PL take (PL) calabash
 'we took some/many calabashes'

Plurality of the noun can also be coded by post-nominal modifiers, discussed in section 5 below.

4 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase is defined as a contiguous structure whose head is a noun, where ‘head’ denotes the only element of the structure that cannot be deleted without losing the sense of the utterance. Modifying components include nouns that indicate natural gender and relative size, which precede the head noun, and a variety of modifiers that follow the head noun. Such modifiers include attributive adjectives; numerals; nouns or pronouns coding the possessor of the head noun; quantifiers; markers of plurality; and determiners that code previous reference, deixis, and other functions in the domain of reference. Only one modifier can precede the head noun in a given phrase, but multiple modifiers may follow the head. Relative clauses that modify the head are described in chapter 17.

Section 5 describes the forms and functions of modifiers that precede the head noun, while section 6 describes modifiers that follow the head noun.

5 Prenominal Modifiers

Prenominal modifiers, i.e. modifiers that precede the head noun, appear to be limited to markers indicating the natural gender, relative size and relative age of the referent and the inherent importance of the referent.

5.1 Non-human Gender

A few lexical items in Pévé, such as *ma* ‘woman, wife’, *ndzɪ* ‘man, husband’, and *gám* ‘ram’ (male sheep), convey the natural gender of the animate referent. Most lexical items, however, including some nouns that refer to animate non-human entities, are gender-neutral. When a noun with an animate non-human referent does not code natural gender, the gender of the referent can be marked by the noun *bà* (‘father’, ‘masculine’) or *ya* (‘mother’, ‘feminine’) before the head noun. Use of the form *bà* or *ya* with the head noun indicates that the referent is full-grown:

ndá? ‘horse’ (no gender implied) *bà ndá?* ‘stallion’ *ya ndá?* ‘mare’

When a noun with a non-human animate referent is inherently masculine or feminine, the use of *bà* or *ya* provides additional information about the referent. The form *nāw* ‘bovine(s)’ is inherently masculine, contrasting with the feminine form *ya nāw* ‘cow(s)’ (‘female bovine’) (recall from chapter 4 that *nāw* is not inherently singular or plural). The seemingly redundant form *ba nāw*

(lit. ‘masculine male bovine’) provides additional information about the referent, referring specifically to the uncastrated male bovine (bull). Similarly, the gender-neutral noun *tʃime* ‘sheep’ (singular or plural) contrasts with the inherently masculine noun *gám* ‘ram’. The form *bà gám* (lit. ‘masculine ram’) denotes an unusually large male sheep (not an uncastrated sheep).

Evidence that *ya* and *bà* are nouns and not adjectives is that either can function as the head of the noun phrase:

- (7) *ya/ba* *màn*
 mother/father 1SG.POSS
 ‘my mother/father’ (*bà* becomes *ba* before the low-tone *màn*)

5.2 *Diminutive*

A marker preceding the head noun may indicate the relative size of the head noun. Use of the noun *vay* ‘child’ before the head noun denotes the relatively small size (diminutive) of the noun that follows:

- (8) *vay ndá?*
 child horse
 ‘foal’
- (9) *vay nãw*
 child bovine
 ‘calf’
- (10) *vay (mə) ma*
 child REL woman/female
 ‘girl’ (‘small woman’)
- (11) *vay (mə) ndzí*
 child REL man/male
 ‘boy’ (‘small man’)

Compare the possessive modifying construction Noun₁ Noun₂, where *vay* after the head noun refers to the possessor:

- (12) *ya vay wá ne kwáti kə vay*
 mother child IMPF give food ASSC child
 ‘the child₁’s mother is feeding the child₁’ (*ya* without *vay* could be the mother of some other child)

In a given noun phrase, only one modifying noun can precede the head noun. Thus, if the head noun is preceded by the diminutive *vay*, the gender of the animate diminutive must be marked by a relative clause following the head noun; it cannot be marked by one of the prenominal gender markers described in section 5.1. Note that gender in the relative clause is marked by the noun *ndzí* ('man, husband') or *ma* ('woman, wife') rather than the gender marker *bà* or *ya*, even though the referent is non-human:

- (13) *vay ndá? (mə) ndzí/ma*
 child horse REL male/female
 'male/female foal'

- (14) *vay nãw (mə) ndzí/ma*
 child bovine REL male/female
 'male/female calf'

5.3 Age

The relative age of an entity can be marked by a prenominal adjective that also indicates the age, gender, and animacy or inanimacy of the referent. The forms *kutók* (fem.) and *kəsá* (masc.) indicate the relatively advanced age of an animate entity:

- (15) *Vaydaŋ nyén ku ne kə kutók ya um-u*
 V. build fire ADP ASSC old.F mother 3M.POSS-FV
 'V. built a fire for his elderly mother'
- (16) *Bondo káw bá kəsá ba um kə dām só*
 B. help old.M father 3M.POSS ASSC build house
 'Bondo helped his elderly father build a house'

The relatively advanced age of an inanimate entity (glossed INAN) is indicated by the prenominal form *kəmbat/kəmbar*:

- (17) *Wambadaŋ tʃób kəmbat mota*
 W. buy old.INAN car
 'Wambadang bought an old car'

5.4 Augmentative

In a great many languages within and outside of the Afroasiatic phylum, adding a feminine marker to a noun that is not inherently feminine may indicate small

size, lack of importance, or in some cases a pejorative meaning (Kossmann 2012, Shay 2014). Pévé is an exception to this rule: Adding the feminine marker *ya* to the noun phrase often indicates that the object is of relatively large size or importance:

ya gú 'large tree' (*ya* 'female', *gú* 'tree')
ya gway? 'large mountain' (*ya* 'female', *gway?* 'mountain')

Substituting the masculine marker *bà* for the feminine marker *ya* produces an unacceptable phrase: **ba gú* for 'large/small tree', **ba gway?* for 'large/small mountain'. The masculine marker *bà* has the augmentative function only if the head noun is inherently masculine, as in *ba gám* 'large ram'.

The feminine/augmentative marker *ya* is sometimes reduced to /i/, as in *i-fray* 'god' ('female above') or *i-nzà* ('stepmother', a position much respected among Pévé speakers). This renders the augmentative marker phonologically indistinguishable from the feminine *nomen agentis* prefix discussed in section 9.2, thereby suggesting that the marker *i* is derived from *ya* 'mother'.

6 Post-nominal Modifiers

As shown above, markers that precede the head noun may code the natural gender of the animate referent of the head noun or the relative size, age, or importance of the head noun. The following sections describe forms and functions of modifiers that follow the head noun.

6.1 *Plurality*

As shown in section 3, singularity or plurality of a noun may be marked by a suppletive noun form, a compound noun form that may or may not be related to the singular form, or a verb that has inherent number. The number of the head noun may also be marked by several postnominal means as well.

Certain adjectives are either inherently singular or either inherently plural. An adjective that is inherently singular or plural may co-occur with a noun that is also inherently singular or plural:

- (18) *vay nyew*
 child small (SG)
 'a small child'

Cf. the plural form:

- (19) *dàw* *dǎre?*
 children small (PL)
 'small children' (also recorded as *dawre?*)

The form *dawre?* appears to be derived through reduction of a relative clause:

- (20) *a* *ra?* *daw* *mə* *dǎre?-e*
 2M.SBJV gather children REL small(PL)-FV
 'gather the small children!'

Plurality of a noun can also be marked through reduplication of a postnominal modifier. In the following example, the reduplicated form *fol-fol* indicates plurality of the noun *wa* 'head', which itself has no inherent number:

- (21) *wa* *mbà* *folfol* *dáy?*
wa *mbà* *fol-fol* *dáy?*
 head 1PL.POSS white pl. all
 'We all have whitish heads.' (lit. 'our heads are white')

Cf. the singular form, without reduplication:

- (22) *wa* *rìn* *fol-o*
 head 1SG.POSS white-FV
 'my head is whitish'

An interesting feature is the presence of a postnominal demonstrative/determiner, *kunə*, which codes both plurality and referentiality of the head noun. In both of the following examples the noun *àdà* 'dog' is referential, since it is identified as belonging to the owner *Kədā*. The use of *kunə*, which becomes *kuni* before a high vowel, therefore codes plurality only:

- (23) *handày* *tʃĩ* *àdà* *Kədā* *kuni* *sí*
 3PL kill dog K. PL ASSERT
 'they killed Kədā's dogs'

Cf. the singular equivalent, where *kunə* does not occur:

- (24) *handà y tʃĩ àdà Kàdā sí*
 3PL kill dog K. ASSERT
 'they killed Kàdā's dog'

When plurality of the noun is coded by some other means, the presence of the demonstrative plural marker *kunə* codes only the referentiality of the plural noun (the function of *kunə* in the reference system is described in chapter 12):

ndzɪwkwá 'men' *ndzɪwkwá kunə* 'those men'

In the following examples the inherently plural verb *rá?* 'take (PL)' codes plurality of the object in the transitive clause (see ch. 4). The plural determiner *kunə* thus codes only the referential status of the object:

- (25) *nambà rá? tím̩bì d̩are? m̩at̩ew kunə sí*
 1PL take (PL) calabash small brown PL ASSERT
 'we took those small red calabashes'

- (26) *nambà rá? hu kunə sí*
 1PL take (PL) goat PL ASSERT
 'we took those goats' (either the goats are visible or we have been talking about them)

Compare the plural verb without the plural determiner:

- (27) *nambà rá? hu sí*
 1PL take (PL) goat ASSERT
 'we took several/many goats' (the goats are not specified)

Compare also the singular form, where singularity is marked solely by the verb form:

- (28) *nambà ʔé hu sí*
 1PL take (SG) goat ASSERT
 'we took a goat'

The plural demonstrative, when it occurs, is the final component of the noun phrase, regardless of the form of the noun phrase:

- (29) *yá náy mà bú kúní mà na ná*
 cow REL white DED.PL REL 1SG I.PRO
 'the white cows (lit. 'cows that are white') are mine'

Phrase-final markers of plurality are found in some Chadic languages of other branches as well, including Mupun (West Chadic; Frajzyngier 1993) and Giziga (Central Chadic; Shay 2012, ms.). Here is a relevant example from Giziga:

- (30) *kùcùkúr bàbàr-áy*
 chicken white-PL
 'white chickens'

6.2 *Modification by an Adjective*

An adjective is defined here as a lexical morpheme that refers to an attribute and whose inherent grammatical function is to modify a noun. In Pévé, an inherent adjective follows the noun it modifies. As is the case in many Chadic languages, there is often no distinction between a noun phrase of the form Noun Adjective and an attributive clause of the form Noun Adjective:

- (31) *ndá uráʔ-a*
 horse black-FV
 'a/the black horse' or 'the horse is black'
- (32) *hu toŋ*
 goat large
 'a/the large goat' or 'the goat is large'
- (33) *mbìr kí*
 milk small
 'a little milk' or 'the amount of milk is small'
- (34) *mbìr báyrúm*
 milk large
 'a lot of milk' or 'the amount of milk is large'

When the subject is a proper noun, the sequence Noun Adjective has only the attributive function:

(35) *Sáráy mbúɗ dzarak-a*

S. grow long

'Sáráy is tall/fully grown' but not 'the tall/fully grown Sáráy' (Pévé does not have an adjective corresponding to 'tall')

There are relatively few inherent adjectives in the Pévé lexicon. Many attributes that are expressed by adjectives in other languages are expressed in Pévé by abstract nouns. A lexical item that is not an inherent adjective is marked for the modifying function by the relative marker *mà*, resulting in a relative clause. The abstract noun *bú* 'whiteness', for example, is not an inherent adjective:

(36) *ya nãw mà bú*

cow REL whiteness

'the cow is white ('the cow that is [of] whiteness')

Pévé has no inherent adjective corresponding to 'sick' or 'ill'. The abstract noun *gáb* 'illness' in the modifying function is preceded by the relative marker and the associative preposition *kə*, a marker with a wide range of functions in the language (see section 6.7, section 7, and subsequent chapters). In the following example the preposition *kə* indicates that the object of the relative clause is possessed by the head noun. Note that plurality of the head noun is indicated by the plural demonstrative *kunə* at the end of the noun phrase:

(37) *handày fól ya nãw mà kə gáb kunə tsóp-ó*

3PL slaughter cow REL ASSC illness PL first-FV

'they slaughter the sick cows (lit. 'cows that are with illness') first'

The notion of hunger can be described by the complex noun phrase *mě́ tí kwá* '(the) need to eat something' (derived from *mě́?* 'saliva' + *títi* 'hurt' (intrans.)). The associative preposition *kə* indicates that the head noun is the possessor of the attribute:

(38) *hà là? kə mẽ? ti kwá si, à tĩ vún*

2M COND ASSC need eat thing ASSERT 2M.SBJV ask

fúntáyà bá sá yé

boule without sauce from ('hand') 3F.POSS PERM

'if you are hungry (lit. 'with need to eat something'), you should ask her for some boule'

One can also say:

- (39) *mē? là? ti nu si à o fun ye*
 need COND eat 2M.O ASSERT 2M.SBJV ask for boule PERM
 for 'if you are hungry, ask for some boule'

It is shown in section 6.1 that a few adjectives are inherently singular or inherently plural and that plurality of the head noun can be indicated by reduplication of the postnominal adjective. An inherent adjective can also be fully or partially reduplicated to code intensity, e.g. *ryéŋ* 'small', *ryéŋ-ryéŋ(e)* 'very small, thin'; *tʃiriŋ* 'deep', *tʃiriŋ-riŋ* 'very deep'; and *rõwã* 'tall', and *rõwã-rõwã* 'very tall'.

6.3 Modification by a Noun

Section 5 demonstrates that when the first noun in the sequence Noun₁ Noun₂ codes gender or relative size, Noun₁ functions as modifier of Noun₂. When Noun₁ does not code gender or relative size, Noun₂ is the modifier of Noun₁:

- (40) *na ti ʔew nãw kúm-ú*
 1SG eat meat bovine yesterday-FV
 'I ate beef ('bovine meat') yesterday'

When the second noun in the sequence Noun₁ Noun₂ has an animate referent, Noun₂ usually functions as the possessor of Noun₁:

- (41) *mum wá só dʒwa*
 3M IMPF house chief
 'he is in the chief's house'
- (42) *na wà? i à tsar gaʔ vay màn*
 1SG want COMP 2M.SBJV lift illness child 1SG.POSS
 'I want you to heal my child' ('lift my child's illness')

In the structure Noun₁ Noun₂, there is no structural distinction between the noun as attributive modifier and the noun as possessor:

- (43) *ʃtã lúmò tá wá gi tsoʔ súm-u*
 day market 3F IMPF sell beer-FV
 'on market day/the day of the market, she sells beer'

- (44) *sowã Maroua*
 people M.
 'the people of Maroua/the Maroua people'

There is no evidence of a sequence of adjectives modifying the same head noun, as in 'big black horse' or 'her black horse'. Solicited sentences with an object noun phrase involving both an adjective and a possessive pronoun have the form S V O Possessor REL Adjective:

- (45) *na gəbó mota Taú mə ura? n-a*
 1SG drive car T. REL black/blue DED.M-FV
 'I drove Tau's blue car' (Pévé has no specific term for 'blue')

- (46) *na ŋã mbəraw man mə bu nə si*
 1SG tear coat 1SG.POSS REL white DED.M ASSERT
 'I tore my white coat'

A noun with a prenominal modifier indicating an inherent property of the head noun can be followed by an adjective without additional marking:

- (47) *na gila? kəmbat so Səray*
 1SG repair old house S.
 'I repaired Səray's old house'

In the recursive sequence Noun₁ Noun₂ Noun₃/Pronoun, each noun or pronoun modifies the noun that precedes it. If the referent is animate, the relationship coded is that of possession:

- (48) *ta tá só bay Gàṃ*
 3F go house friend G.
 'she went to Gam's friend's house'

- (49) *mum(l)áʔá ɛɛ suməʃin dù ri dǎw téa bàl*
mum láʔá ɛɛ swə məsín dù ri dǎw té bal
 3M say eh man other within 2PL.POSS one take credit
dəbǎ? màn wǎyzà? kǔm-ú
dəbǎ? màn wǎy zà? kǔm-ú
 tobacco 1SG.POSS day before yesterday-FV
 'He said, "One of you took my tobacco on credit (lit. 'my tobacco's credit') the day before yesterday.'"

Given that there are constructions in which the noun precedes the noun it modifies (section 5), it is sometimes difficult to say whether Noun₁ modifies Noun₂ or vice versa when both nouns have animate referents. The meaning of the next examples could be ‘female child’ vs. ‘male child’ (Modifier Noun) or ‘small female’ vs. ‘small male’ (Noun Modifier):

(50) *vay ma*
child woman

(51) *vay ndʒí*
child man

The same form may also function as the argument of a proposition:

(52) *ma mà ti ha wé rə mbá si*
woman REL PRO 2M see POST come ASSERT
‘the woman you saw has come’

Similarly, the feminine marker *ya*, which marks the gender of an animate entity or the size of an inanimate entity (sections 5.1–5.2), may also function as the head of a noun phrase:

(53) *ya vay wá ne kwáti kə vay*
mother child IMPF give food ASSC child
‘the child’s mother is feeding her child’ (not ‘female child’ or ‘large child’)

The sequence Noun₁ Noun₂ thus has different functions and interpretations, depending on shared information and surrounding discourse. The sequence Noun₁ Noun₂ can also function as a compound noun, discussed in section 9.1.

6.4 Possessive Pronouns

Pévé has two distinct sets of possessive pronouns. In keeping with Chadic linguistic tradition, these sets are labeled ‘alienable’ vs. ‘inalienable’. It should be noted, however, that the class to which a given lexical item belongs is a language-specific question and is not based on the nature of the real-world referent.

Table 5 shows the two sets of possessive pronouns. Note that wherever there is a distinction between the inalienable and the alienable possessive pronoun, the inalienable pronoun begins with the consonant /r/. This is true even when the inalienable pronoun is not obviously derived from the alienable form. The

TABLE 5 Possessive pronouns

	Alienable possessor (also serve as non-perfective object pronouns)	Inalienable possessor (also serve as objects of prepositions)
1SG	<i>màn</i>	<i>rìn</i>
2M	<i>wǔ</i>	<i>rù</i>
2F	<i>màŋ</i>	<i>rìŋ</i>
3M	<i>ùm</i>	<i>rùm</i>
3F	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>
1PL	<i>mbà</i>	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>mì</i>	<i>rì</i>
3PL	<i>ndày</i>	<i>ndày</i>

presence of the initial /r/ thus suggests traces of an earlier pre-pronominal marker whose function was to indicate inalienable possession. Interestingly, pronouns from the inalienable possessive set also serve as objects of prepositions, while pronouns from the alienable possessive set are identical with object pronouns from the unmarked ('non-perfective') set (see chapter 6).

The category of inalienable possession includes body-part terms and certain lexical items corresponding to family relations, including 'wife', 'brother', and 'sister':

- (54) *hum/i rìn*
ear/eye 1SG.POSS
'my ear(s)/eye(s)'

- (55) *bá rum*
hand 3M.POSS
'his hand(s)'

- (56) *ma rù*
wife 2M.POSS
'your wife'

- (57) *ndzar/ndzàr rìŋ*
sister/brother 3F.POSS
'her sister/brother'

- (58) *bá ri*
 hand 2PL.POSS
 'your (2PL) hands'

In the next example the inalienable possessive pronoun modifies the noun *syem* 'time, occurrence'. A possible explanation for this is that the form *syem* also denotes the body part 'foot', which may well be the source of the abstract noun *syem*:

- (59) *syem híndzi? rùm n-a*
 time three 3M.POSS DED.M-FV
 'the third time'

The much broader category of alienable possession includes nouns denoting other family relationships, including 'child', 'mother', 'father', and 'husband'; nouns corresponding to 'friend', 'house', and 'home'; nouns with non-human animate referents; and nouns with inanimate referents:

- (60) *ya/ba/ndzi? màn*
 mother/father/husband 1SG.POSS
 'my mother/father/husband'

- (61) *vay ùm*
 child 3M.POSS
 'his child'

- (62) *bay màŋ*
 friend 2F.POSS
 'your (f.) friend'

- (63) *so/syemde/ya nãw/ndzin wũ*
 house/name/cow/story 2M.POSS
 'your (m.) house/name/cow/story'

Pévé speakers without formal education tend to use the alienable form, rather than the inalienable form, with nouns corresponding to 'wife', 'brother', and 'sister':

- (64) *ma wũ (not rù)*
 wife 2M.POSS
 for 'your wife'

- (65) *ndzar màn* (*not rìn*)
 sister 1SG.POSS
 for 'my sister'

Possession of the noun *tú* 'body' can be marked by an alienable or inalienable possessive pronoun, with no apparent difference in meaning:

- (66) *tu man titi*
 body 1SG.POSS hurt.hurt
 'I am very sick (lit. 'the body hurts me')' (alienable)

vs.

- (67) *tu rìn titi*
 body 1SG.POSS hurt.hurt
 'I am very sick' ('my body hurts me') (inalienable)

- (68) *mum tá? tú rùm ne nàn*
 3M show body 3M.POSS PREP 1SG.O
 'he showed himself ('his body') to me' (inalienable)

In some cases the choice between inalienable and alienable possessor indicates a referential distinction. In this example, the alienable possessive pronoun refers to the person who named the price:

- (69) *tsob màn* (*alienable*)
 price 1SG.POSS
 'my price' (for my merchandise)

In the next example, use of the inalienable possessive pronoun codes reference to the price itself:

- (70) *tsob rùm* (*inalienable*)
 price 3M.POSS
 'its (lit. 'his') price'

Again, the function of the inalienable possessive pronoun vs. the alienable possessive pronoun depends in part on shared information and surrounding discourse.

6.5 Numerals and Modification by a Numeral

Numerals in Pévé follow the decimal system, with the numerals 1 through 10 represented by lexical items that show no evidence of derivation from one another:

- 1 *dǎw*
- 2 *hob*
- 3 *hínzǐ?*
- 4 *fǎdǐ?*
- 5 *vát*
- 6 *kánki?*
- 7 *syéda?*
- 8 *tsóho?*
- 9 *tǎfádew?*
- 10 *gub*

The numerals 11 through 19 have the form *gub wa* Numeral, where *gub* is 10 and *wa* is the noun 'head':

- 11 *gub wa dǎw*
- 12 *gub wa hob*
- 13 *gub wa hínzǐ?*, etc.

Multiples of 10, up to 100, have the form *gu*+Numeral, where *gu* is a reduced form of *gub*:

- 20 *guhob*
- 21 *guhob wa dǎw*
- 22 *guhob wa hob*, etc.
- 30 *guhínzǐ?*
- 31 *guhínzǐ? wa dǎw*, etc.
- 40 *gufǎdǐ?*
- 50 *guvát*, etc.

The numeral corresponding to 100 is *kis*. Multiples of 100 have the form *kis* Numeral:

200 *kis hob*

300 *kis hínđzi?*, etc.

All numerals between 101 and 199, 201 and 299, etc., have the form *kis kə* Numeral, where *kə* is the associative preposition:

101 *kis kə dǎw*

102 *kis kə hob*, etc.

120 *kis kə guhob*

121 *kis kə guhob wa dǎw*, etc.

130 *kis kə guhínđzi?*, etc.

201 *kis hob kə dǎw*

202 *kis hob kə hob*, etc.

220 *kis hob kə guhob*

221 *kis hob kə guhob wa dǎw*, etc.

The numeral corresponding to 1000 is *mbu*, which also means ‘sack (for carrying grain)’.

Ordinal numerals are formed by means of the morpheme *buwá* (meaning unknown) before the cardinal numeral: *buwá dǎw* ‘first’, *buwá hob* ‘second’, *buwá hínđzi?* ‘third’, etc. With the exception of *reeta* ‘half’, borrowed from Fulfulde, Pévé does not have dedicated forms denoting fractions. The following sentence shows a means of describing fractions:

- (71) *bul du rum vaʔ bay ra? hínđzi?*
 share divide 3M.POSS five CONJ take three
 ‘three fifths’ (lit. ‘you divide into five and take three’)

A numeral in the modifying function follows the head noun, without additional marking:

- (72) *ha tsób nda? vaʔ-a*
 2M bought horse five-FV
 ‘you bought five horses’

- (73) *mum gí ndá na? (pause) syəm dǎw syəm hwɔb*
mum gí ndá na syem dǎw syem hɔb
 3M do like I.PRO time one time two
 'He did that once, twice.'

When the noun is modified by a numeral as well as one or more adjectives, the order of the noun phrase is Noun Adjective(s) Numeral:

- (74) *hi tsoɓ nda? ura? rōwǎ vaɬ-a*
 2PL buy horse black large five-FV
 'you (PL) bought five large black horses'

6.6 Modification by a Quantifier or Classifier

Quantifiers include the forms *rǎw* 'many', *tʃét* 'all', *kǐ?* 'some, a little', and *dány?* 'all'. The quantifier follows the noun it modifies:

- (75) *ta gí tsoɓ mbìr kǐ ne nàn-a*
 3F sell milk small ADP 1SG.O-FV
 'she sold me a little milk'
- (76) *mum kadam kə sowǎ dány?*
 3M nice/good ASSC people all
 'he is nice to everyone'
- (77) *handày tsób hu rǎw-á*
 3PL buy goat many-FV
 'they bought many goats' (*hu* 'goat' or 'goats')

The modifier *məsín* by itself has a meaning corresponding to 'other', 'some', or 'one of', depending on context. The reviewer of the manuscript has pointed out similar functions coded by the indefinite marker *wani/wata/wasu* in Hausa. In the present work, the modifier *məsín* is glossed as 'other' for simplicity:

- (78) *mum tsób ya nǎw swə məsín bá Tau*
 3M buy cow man other from ('hand') T.
 'he bought someone else's cow from Tau'

The modifier *məsín* followed by a numeral codes reference to a member of a group denoted by the head noun:

- (79) *kor mäsín dāw tǎvun rùm-u*
 donkey other one ask 3M.POSS-FV
 'one of the donkeys asked him'

The phrase *dù*+Inalienable possessor marks the head noun as belonging to a group denoted by the possessor. The form *dù* is a preposition coding interior location:

- (80) *swə mäsín dù ri dāw*
 man other within 2PL.POSS one
 'one of you' ('one person among yours')

6.7 Modification by a Determiner

Various determiners, including the plural determiner *kunə*, can occur as the final component of the noun phrase. The forms and functions of various determiners are described in detail in chapter 5.

7 Conjoined Noun Phrase

In a phrase involving two or more nouns, the nouns are conjoined by the associative preposition *kə*:

- (81) *handəy tsób ya nāw kə ya hu*
 3PL buy cow ASSC female goat
 'they bought a cow and a female goat'
- (82) *Tau kə Gwà tá lúmò*
 T. ASSC G. go market
 'Tau and Gwa went to the market'

The conjoined noun phrase may itself be the object of a preposition:

- (83) *mbòk Maroua kə Garouà*
 between M. ASSC G.
 'between Maroua and Garouà'

Evidence that *kə* is the associative preposition and not a conjunction is that the noun marked by *kə* may be separated from the noun that functions as the subject:

(84) *Taú tá lúmò kə Gwà*

T. go market ASSC G.

‘Tau went to the market with Gwa’ (not ‘Tau and Gwa went to the market’)

The associative preposition is distinct from the clausal conjunction *bay*, discussed further in chapter 16:

(85) *Taú tá lúmò bay Gwà tá lúmò tà?-à*

T. go market CONJ G. go market also-FV

‘Tau went to the market and Gwa went to the market (separately)’

The disjunctive noun phrase, which marks the opposite of the conjunctive, is coded by the preposition *dan* ‘without’:

(86) *mum tá lúmò dan s-á*

3M go market without 3F.O-FV

‘he went to the market without her’

8 Proper Names

Nearly all proper names of Pévé origin can be either masculine or feminine. In earlier times, if a family lost more than one female child, a local seer might advise the family to give a traditionally masculine name to the next female child in hopes of protecting the child from the risk of death. As a result, most traditional proper names can now be given to either male or female infants.

Traditionally, it is the paternal grandfather who names the child. The grandfather has the option of inventing the personal name and/or the surname. For example, collaborator Wambadang’s first name, Lazare, refers to Lazarus in the New Testament. The surname Wambadang, provided by the paternal grandfather, has its roots in the phrase *wa mba dáy?* (‘head/top 1PL.O all’). The literal meaning is ‘everything is on us’, and the implication is that whether the child has good times or bad, his or her happiness or sadness will be felt by all.

Other Pévé names with clausal or phrasal origins include:

(87) *Taú na vé si*

T. 1SG believe ASSERT

‘I believe in Tau’

- (88) *koi suk* *bo*
 K. stay/live PROM
 ‘Koi will stay’

Other proper names of Pévé origin include Kəḏa, Gwà, Gam, May, Kəḏay, Səray and Kom. Some of these names have been borrowed into the neighboring languages Mambay and Mundang.

9 Derived Nouns

This section describes means of deriving nouns from other nouns and from other lexical items (for the use of a verb in the nominal function with no overt marking, see chapter 4). In some cases there is a fine line between compounding, as described below, and the use of a noun to code the natural gender or the relative size of the referent of the head noun that follows it (see sections 5.1–5.3). In at least one instance, a verb is derived from a noun via reduplication: *ʃi-ʃi* ‘to smell something’, from the form *ʃiŋ* ‘smell’ (N), but compounding appears to be far more productive than reduplication.

9.1 Compounding

A compound noun is defined here as a noun that is immediately followed by another noun, where the second noun does not obviously function as a modifier or as a predicate. The meaning of the compound form is not necessarily obvious from the meanings of the component forms:

vun zè riverbank (lit. ‘mouth (of) river’)

An interesting feature of the next example is the use of the 3M possessive pronoun *rum* after the compound noun. In the following example it is not clear to whom this refers, since the speaker has been talking only of his own trip:

- (89) *vari rəkway* *rum* *gí* *ndá naʔ-à*
 trip (lit. ‘road (of) stranger’) 3M.POSS make like I.PRO-FV
 ‘The trip was like that.’

Many expressions coding reference to specific points in time involve compounding (see chapter 21 for more examples):

- (90) *ndzike vaɬ mə vun bəkà*
 iron five REL mouth morning
 ‘five o’clock in the morning’

or:

- (91) *ndzike vaɬ mə gàʔ bəkà*
 iron five REL side morning
 for ‘five o’clock in the morning’

The form *vay gayʔ* ‘playing piece, game piece’ is a compound noun. The evidence is that the diminutive interpretation marked by *vay* in other constructions does not apply. While *vay dzənàk* can be interpreted either as ‘young/small guinea fowl’ or ‘guinea fowl’s child’, *vay gàyʔ* cannot be interpreted as ‘small game’

- (92) *vay gayʔ*
 child game
 ‘[playing] piece’ (lit. ‘game’s child’)

Some compounds consist of a noun followed by a verb, e.g. *kwáti* ‘food’ (lit. ‘thing’+‘to eat’), *rawti* ‘stomach’ (unknown noun; possibly ‘large amount’+‘to eat’). The most interesting recorded compound consists of five consecutive components and refers to ‘animal’ or ‘mammal’:

- (93) *kwá mə tà kə syem mə ni nambà wé nə ... kəlɪŋ*
 thing REL walk ASSC feet REL PRO 1PL see POST rat
n-a
 I.PRO-FV
 ‘the animal (‘thing that walks with feet’) that we saw, (it) is a rat’

9.2 *Nomen agentis Prefix*

Pévé has a set of *nomen agentis* prefixes that can be used to derive nouns from verbs. The derived noun refers to the entity performing the action that is denoted by the verb or verb phrase. The forms of the *nomen agentis* prefix are *bə-* (masc.), *i-* (fem.), and *sum-* (pl.). The forms *bə* and *i* are no doubt derived from the prenominal gender markers *ba* (masc.) and *ya* (fem.) (section 5.1). The markers *bə* and *i* are considered prefixes because of the regular phonological reduction. By extension, the plural form *sum* is also considered a prefix.

The *nomen agentis* (glossed 'AGT' for 'agent', followed by the abbreviation m., f., or pl.) that is derived from a verb may denote an occupation or a habitual activity (many of the examples below are based on Venberg (no date; ms.) and confirmed by collaborator Wambadang):

- (94) a. *bə-kùrà*
 AGT(m.)-work, cultivate
 '(male) farmer'
- b. *bə-rí* *kəda*
 AGT(m.)-shape (V) metal
 '(male) blacksmith'
- c. *bə-gay?* *gú*
 AGT(m.)-pound wood
 '(male) carpenter'
- d. *i-kaw* *gab-a*
 AGT(f.)-grab, stop illness
 '(female) healer'
- e. *bə-kaw* *gab-a*
 AGT(f.)-grab, stop illness
 '(male) healer'
- f. *i-ri* *dənay*
 AGT(f.)-shape (V) clay
 '(female) potter'
- g. *sum-ta?* *kwá*
 AGT(pl.)-show thing
 'teachers'

The *nomen agentis* may also denote the agent of a one-time action:

- (95) *bə-tə* *bal* *dəbā?* *bruk*
 AGT(m.)-take debt tobacco monitor lizard
 'taker of the debt of Monitor Lizard's tobacco' (i.e., the one who bought the tobacco on credit)

10 Conclusion

The noun phrase has the form (Noun) Head (Modifier) (Possessor) (Determiner). A noun before the head noun codes the gender or relative size of the head, while a noun after the head noun may function as a modifier or a possessor. The postnominal position of modifier may be occupied by an inherent adjective, numeral, or quantifier, a noun in the modifying function, or a relative clause. When the head noun is followed by a sequence of lexical items, each item functions as the modifier or possessor of the item that precedes it. A possessor in the noun phrase may be an alienable possessive pronoun, and inalienable possessive pronoun, or a noun in the possessive function. A determiner, if any, is the last constituent of the noun phrase.

Nominal morphology in Puvé includes parsing morphology, compound nouns, and *nomen agentis* prefixes, which derive certain nouns from verbs. Most Puvé nouns do not code a singular vs. plural distinction, nor do most nouns have natural gender. Plurality of most nouns is conveyed by context, use of an inherently plural modifier, or use of a plural verb. Second- and third-person pronouns convey masculine or feminine gender, as do a small number of prenominal modifiers.

Coding Grammatical Relations

1 Introduction

The term ‘grammatical relations’ refers here to the functional relations between the verb and the noun phrase(s) in a clause. These relations include the subject, the object, and the indirect object, as defined in sections below. As stated in chapter 1, in the pronoun set there is no distinction between direct object pronouns and indirect object pronouns. The terms ‘direct object’ and ‘indirect object’, as used in the present chapter, thus refer to the grammatical relations between the verb and its arguments rather than to the form of the pronoun that represents an argument. Because there is no direct vs. indirect object distinction within the pronoun system, a pronoun that may represent either a direct object or an indirect object is referred to simply as an object pronoun, glossed as O for ‘Object’.

In addition to subject vs. object pronoun distinctions, the grammatical relationship between a given noun phrase and the verb can be coded by one or more of the following means: the position of the noun phrase with respect to the verb; the position of the noun phrase with respect to another noun phrase; the indirect object marker *ne* (glossed ‘ADP’ for ‘adposition’), derived from the verb ‘to give’; the associative preposition *kə*; a pronoun coding a specific grammatical relation; and the position of a pronoun with respect to another noun phrase or pronoun. Pronouns are neither prefixes nor suffixes, and there is no coding of grammatical relations on the verb itself or on the noun stem. Puvé also has an impersonal pronoun, *na*, whose functions in the domains of reference and complementation resemble the functions of ‘that’, ‘it’ and certain other forms in English. The form *na* and its functions are discussed in chapters 11 and 19.

An important feature of Puvé is that the coding of grammatical relations is inseparable from the coding of tense, aspect, and mood. Different linear orders and different pronoun forms are used in different tenses, aspects, and moods, and in some cases the choice of pronoun form and/or the linear order of constituents is the only means of coding tense, aspect, or mood (see chapters 8–10). With respect to the subject argument, the primary distinction is between the indicative mood and the subjunctive mood. With respect to all other arguments, the primary distinction is between the perfective aspect and the subjunctive mood on the one hand and all other tenses, aspects, and moods

on the other. For convenience, this distinction is referred to as ‘perfective’ vs. ‘non-perfective’. The interaction of grammatical relations with other means of coding tense, aspect, and mood is explored further in later chapters.

This chapter describes the means of coding the grammatical relations subject, object, and indirect object in perfective and non-perfective simple sentences. The interaction of grammatical relations and mood is further discussed in chapter 9. The coding of grammatical relations in negative clauses is addressed in chapter 14, and the coding of grammatical relations in complex sentences is addressed in chapter 19.

2 Subject

The subject is defined here as the sole argument of an intransitive verb or the controlling argument of a transitive verb. The defining features of the subject argument in Pévé are as follows: (1) the subject noun or pronoun always precedes the verb, although other material may intervene between subject and verb, and (2) the pronominal subject is represented by a member of a unique set of pronouns that code a distinction between pronouns used in indicative clauses and pronouns used in subjunctive clauses. Both subject pronoun sets are distinct from the pronouns that represent direct and indirect objects. Nearly every clause has a subject noun or pronoun. Exceptions to this rule are some imperative clauses (commands addressed to the second person) and some clauses in which the subject referent is a known entity (see chapter 12).

The grammatical relation ‘subject’ does not imply a particular semantic relationship. The subject may be controlling or non-controlling, animate or inanimate, without further marking:

- (1) *dʒwə fáŋ ʔya ʒé*
 chief repeat depart pass
 ‘the chief left again’
- (2) *ndʒm màn ʒé si*
ndʒin màn ʒé si
 story 1SG.POSS start ASSERT
 ‘My story starts right now.’
- (3) *ndór ndóʔ si*
 rainy season finish ASSERT
 ‘the rainy season has ended’

Although the noun or pronoun representing the subject always precedes the verb, much material may occur between the subject noun or pronoun and the verb. This material includes independent markers of tense, aspect or negation:

- (4) *ta dà dà lúmò*
 3F FUT go market
 'she will go to the market'
- (5) *ta wá dà lúmò*
 3F IMPF go market
 'she is going to the market'
- (6) *Taú tsú tá lúmò tám kə bàkà mì*
 T. NEG go market today ASSC morning NEG
 'Tau didn't go to the market this morning'

A temporal adverb may also intervene between subject and verb, as may a deictic demonstrative indicating location:

- (7) *dʒwa gwa? tʃivun rùm-u*
 chief then ask 3M.POSS-FV
 'then the chief asked him'
- (8) *bay na ni fáj mbá*
 CONJ 1SG PROX repeat come
 'so I came back here'

Even the conditional marker may intervene between subject and verb:

- (9) *háŋ là? gí kwáti ndó? si, nambà dà ti*
 2F COND made food finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 'if you have finished cooking, we will eat'

In some tenses and aspects, as described in sections 3 and 4 below, the subject noun or pronoun can be separated from the verb by a noun or pronoun representing another argument:

- (10) *na dà ùm gi tsof ya nãw màn-à*
 1SG FUT 3M.O sell cow 1SG.POSS-FV
 'I will sell him my cow'

In the following examples the subject pronoun is separated from the verb by the negative marker, the future-tense marker, and a pronoun representing the recipient of the event:

- (11) *na tsú dâ ùm gí tsòb ya naw màn ne mì*
 1SG NEG FUT 3M.O sell cow 1POSS ADP NEG
 'I will not sell him my cow.'
- (12) *mum tsú dâ sá tsòb ne mì*
 3M NEG FUT 3F.O buy ADP NEG
 'he will not buy (it) for her'

The pronoun representing the direct object can also occur between the subject and the verb:

- (13) *mum tsú dâ um/sá tsòb síw mì*
 3M NEG FUT 3M.O/3F.O buy tomorrow NEG
 'he will not buy it tomorrow'

The fact that many lexical and grammatical items can occur between the subject and the verb raises the question of whether the position before the verb is the coding means for the subject or whether sentence-initial position is the coding means for the subject. However, the subject does not have to be the first element of the sentence, as it can be preceded by the conditional marker or a temporal adverbial:

- (14) *là? háŋ gí kwáti ndó? si nambà dâ ti*
 COND 2F made food finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 'if you have finished cooking, we will eat' (same meaning as example 9, above)
- (15) *kəri rùm handày fáj káw Taobay*
 time 3M.POSS 3PL arrest ('repeat grab') T.
 'Then they arrested Taobay.' (For the use of *kəri rùm* in conditional constructions, see chapter 18.):

In the following text fragment the sentence beginning with *bay* has no connection with the preceding sentence apart from the fact that it follows that sentence in discourse. This demonstrates that *bay* is sentence-initial and precedes the subject pronoun:

- (16) *namba dáŋ? mbà tʃík báyrúm ɓay nambà tá?kóri*
nambà dáŋ? [nɑ]mbà tʃík báyrúm ɓay nambà tá káwri
 1PL all 1PL tire (V) very CONJ 1PL go arrive
Garouà kə ndzíkè tsóho? mambəka
Garoua kə ndzike tsóho? mə kə bəkà
 G. ASSC iron eight REL ASSC morning
 'All of us, we were very tired. And we got into Garoua at eight o'clock in the morning'

The subject role of the noun phrase is thus coded by the position somewhere before the verb, though not necessarily in sentence-initial position. When more than one argument precedes the verb (see sections 3.2 and 4.2), the subject is the first of those arguments.

2.1 *Indicative Subject Pronouns*

The pronominal subject is represented by a member of one of two sets of pronouns: indicative subject pronouns and subjunctive subject pronouns. This section focuses on indicative subject pronouns, while subjunctive subject pronouns are addressed in section 2.2.

Like pronouns of other sets, indicative subject pronouns distinguish between singular and plural in the first, second, and third person. Singular pronouns in the second and third person distinguish masculine and feminine gender (see Table 6).

Examples:

- (17) *nambà dà nde wa fɪw si su*
 1PL FUT encounter (lit. 'fall head') tomorrow COND Q
 'Will we get together tomorrow?'
 (18) *na bá(r) rì ba*
 1SG lie down place lying.N
 'I lay down'
 (19) *handày géwa mbə Lamé si*
 3PL return come L. ASSERT
 'they came back to Lamé' (spoken in Lamé)

The two bisyllabic subject pronouns, *nambà* (1PL) and *handày* (3PL), may be shortened to *mbà* and *ndày* at the normal rate of speech. The absence of the initial syllable renders the forms the same as those of the corresponding object

TABLE 6 Indicative subject pronouns

1SG	<i>na</i>
2M	<i>ha</i>
2F	<i>hí, háŋ,</i>
3M	<i>mum</i>
3F	<i>ta</i>
1PL	<i>nambà</i>
2PL	<i>hí</i>
3PL	<i>handàŋ</i>

pronouns (Tables 8, 9). This does not cause confusion, as the subject pronoun always precedes the verb and, as shown above, precedes any other arguments that may precede the verb. In both of the following natural discourse examples, the first syllable of the subject pronoun was omitted:

- (20) [*na*]*mbà faŋ dà zàʔ boknáŋ*
 1PL go back FUT find elephant DED.PL-FV
 “Let’s go back and find the elephants.”

- (21) [*ha*]*nday man ʔe də classe baptème (Fr.) sar*
 3PL 1SG.O teach take go baptism class only
 ‘They taught me Baptism class only.’

There is no neuter subject pronoun in Pévè that corresponds to ‘it’ in English. The inanimate or non-human nature of the pronominal subject can be coded by the absence of a subject marker:

- (22) *kə ku*
 ASSC fire
 ‘(it is) hot’ (lit. ‘with fire’)

The subject role in a given clause can be represented by either a noun or a pronoun, but not both:

- (23) **Taú mum tá lúmò tám kə bàkà si*
 T. 3M go market today ASSC morning ASSERT
 for 'Tau went to the market today' (or any meaning)

The exception is when the nominal subject is topicalized. In this case the sequence Noun Pronoun Verb can occur, but the subject noun must be followed by a pause for the sentence to be grammatical:

- (24) *May (pause) ta ndzar rìn mbrí na*
 M. 3F sister 1SG.POSS older I.PRO
 'as for May, she is my older sister'

2.2 Subjunctive Subject Pronouns

Subject pronouns used in the subjunctive mood form a set that is distinct from the pronouns used in the indicative mood. Subjunctive subject pronouns referring to the second person, i.e. the addressee, further distinguish between formal/polite forms and informal/casual forms. Functions of the two sets of subjunctive pronouns are described in chapter 9, which also describes modal functions coded by other markers in the subjunctive clause.

Subjunctive pronouns code the same gender and number distinctions that are coded by indicative pronouns (see Table 7). The set of indicative pronouns in section 2.1 is repeated in the table for convenience.

Examples with informal subjunctive subject pronouns:

- (25) *á ve ye*
 1SG.SBJV take PERM
 'can I take (it)?'
- (26) *má dà ye*
 1PL.SBJV go PERM
 'let's go!'
- (27) *à/ŋ mbà ri?-i*
 2M.SBJV/2F.SBJV come already-FV
 'you'd better come here!'

Formal subjunctive pronouns are used only in commands to the second person. The formal subjunctive subject pronoun *ì* may refer to a second-person feminine, masculine, or plural addressee, hence the use of '2nd.PERS' in the gloss:

TABLE 7 Subjunctive (SBJV) subject pronouns vs. indicative subject pronouns

Indicative subject pronouns		Subjunctive (SBJV) subject pronouns	
		Informal	Formal
1SG	<i>na</i>	<i>á</i>	
2M	<i>ha</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>ì</i>
2F	<i>hí, háη</i>	<i>ỳ, àη</i>	<i>ì</i>
3M	<i>mum</i>	<i>nà</i>	
3F	<i>ta</i>	<i>tà</i>	
1PL	<i>nambà</i>	<i>má</i>	
2PL	<i>hí</i>	<i>ì ... (ní)</i>	<i>ì</i>
3PL	<i>handày</i>	<i>mə</i>	

- (28) *ì mbə riʔ-i*
 2nd.PERS come already-FV
 ‘come here!’ (singular or plural addressee)

Plurality of the addressee in the formal command can be indicated by use of the second-person object pronoun *ní* following the verb:

- (29) *ì mbə ní riʔ-i*
 2nd.PERS come 2PL.O already-FV
 ‘come here!’ (plural addressee)

When the object marker *ní* occurs in a formal command to a plural addressee, the preverbal subject pronoun *ì* can be omitted:

- (30) *mbə ní riʔ-i*
 come SBJV.PL already-FV
 ‘come here!’ (plural addressee)

The subject can also be omitted in a command to a singular addressee:

- (31) *zye mbə ye!*
 enter come PERM
 ‘come in!’

- (32) *ti ye!*
eat PERM
'eat!'

Given that the inanimate direct object does not have to be overtly marked (see chapters 6 and 12), it is possible to generate an independent transitive clause consisting solely of the verb and a marker of modality:

- (33) *pum ye*
hit PERM
'[you] could hit [it]'

3 Direct Object Function

A direct object is defined here as the directly affected argument of a transitive verb. A direct object can be represented by a noun or by an object pronoun from one of two distinct sets, the perfective set and the non-perfective set (see section 3.2, below). The means of distinguishing the direct object vs. indirect object function of a noun or pronoun are discussed in section 4.

3.1 *Nominal Direct Object*

In a clause with only one non-subject argument, the grammatical role of the nominal direct object is indicated by the position immediately after the verb regardless of the tense, aspect, or mood of the clause. There is no evidence that any material can intervene between the verb and the object:

- (34) *namba zá? ʒyè báyrúm*
1PL found peanuts much
'We found a lot of peanuts.'
- (35) *na dà tʃe sum myen?/gur ye*
1SG FUT drink beer slowly/finally [and with pleasure]
'I will drink beer slowly/at long last'
- (36) *tá wá ɡi tsoʔ súm fətà lúmò*
3F IMPF sell beer day market
'she sells beer on the day of the market'

- (37) *mum wá tsoḅ ya nãw-ã*
 3M IMPF buy cow-FV
 'he is buying a cow'

The nominal direct object is coded by the position after the verb in the subjunctive mood as well, regardless of whether or not there is a subject marker in the clause:

- (38) *à dâ il mbì rîʔ-i*
 2M.SBJV go scoop water already-FV
 'you should go get some water'
- (39) *il rəḅà*
 scoop bouillie
 'get some bouillie!'

3.2 *Pronouns as Direct Objects*

As previously stated, pronouns in Pévé do not distinguish between the direct and the indirect object function. Non-subject pronouns are thus referred to simply as object pronouns, and the term 'direct object' refers only to the grammatical relationship between the noun and the verb.

Pévé has two distinct sets of object pronouns: the perfective set and the non-perfective set. Pronouns from the perfective set represent the object in the perfective aspect, as coded by high tone on the verb, and in the subjunctive mood, as coded by the use of a subjunctive subject pronoun or the absence of a subject marker in the clause. Object pronouns from the non-perfective set are used in all non-perfective aspects and tenses but are not used in the subjunctive mood. The role of pronoun forms in coding aspect and mood is further described in chapters 8 and 9.

3.2.1 Pronoun as Direct Object: Perfective Set

A very important distinction between the perfective set of object pronouns and the non-perfective set has to do with how the function of direct object is coded. As shown below, the direct object function of a pronoun from the perfective set is marked by the position immediately after the verb in both the perfective aspect and the subjunctive mood (SVO), while the direct object function of a pronoun from the non-perfective set is marked by the position before the verb (SOV; see below).

Like subject pronouns, object pronouns convey the gender of the second- or third-person referent and the number of the first, second-, or third-person

TABLE 8 Perfective/subjunctive
object pronouns (termed
'perfective', for simplicity)

Perfective object	
1SG	<i>nàn</i>
2M	<i>nù</i>
2F	<i>nàŋ</i>
3M	<i>nùm</i>
3F	<i>sá</i>
1PL	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>nì</i>
3PL	<i>ndày</i>

referent. The object pronouns in Table 8 (above) are used in perfective indicative clauses and in all types of subjunctive clauses.

In the perfective and the subjunctive clause, the object pronoun from the perfective set immediately follows the verb if the clause contains only one non-subject argument and that argument is affected by the event:

(40) *mum ʔí nàn-à*

3M insult 1SG.O-FV
'he insulted me'

(41) *na wé nùm wə Garoua*

1SG see 3M.O PREP G.
'I saw him in Garoua'

(42) *mum púm s-á*

3M hit 3F.O-FV
'he hit her'

(43) *mum púm nù si su*

3M hit 2M.O ASSERT Q
'did he hit you?'

(44) *mum ó ndày dí fun-u*

3M ask 3PL.O prepare food-FV
'he asked them to prepare food for her'

- (45) à *pum nùm ye*
 2M.SBJV hit 3M.O PERM
 'hit him!' or 'you may hit him'

The choice of masculine or feminine pronoun can indicate the natural gender of an animate non-human referent:

- (46) *mum wá sá tsof-o*
 3M IMPF 3F.O buy-FV
 'he is buying her (a cow)'

If the natural gender is not known to the speaker, an object pronoun coding either gender is acceptable:

- (47) *lum ti nùm/sə si*
 lion ate 3M.O/3F.O ASSERT
 for 'the lion ate it (an animal of unknown gender)'

As previously mentioned, there is no neuter pronoun corresponding to 'it'. Inanimate objects, which have no inherent gender, can be represented by either a masculine or a feminine third-person pronoun:

- (48) *na ti sá/nùm kúm-u*
 1SG eat 3F.O/3M.O yesterday-FV
 'I ate it (vegetable, meat, grain, etc.) yesterday'

Use of a transitive verb without an overt object indicates that the event involves (or involved) a referential inanimate object (see chapter 12 for further discussion of the referential function and coding means):

- (49) *na tsób kúm-u*
 1SG bought yesterday-FV
 'I bought (it) yesterday'

- (50) *pum ri?-i*
 hit already-FV
 'hit (it)!'

- (51) *na də tsof siw-i*
 1SG FUT buy tomorrow
 'he will buy (it) tomorrow'

TABLE 9 Non-perfective object pronouns

	Non-perfective object	cf. Perfective/subjunctive object
1SG	<i>màn</i>	<i>nàn</i>
2M	<i>wǔ</i>	<i>nù</i>
2F	<i>màŋ</i>	<i>nàŋ</i>
3M	<i>ùm</i>	<i>nùm</i>
3F	<i>só</i>	<i>sá</i>
1PL	<i>mbà</i>	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>mì</i>	<i>nì</i>
3PL	<i>ndáy</i>	<i>ndáy</i>

- (52) *ta də ti siw-i*
 3F FUT eat tomorrow
 'she will eat (it) tomorrow'

3.2.2 Pronoun as Direct Object: Non-perfective Set

An object pronoun from the non-perfective set can be used to represent the direct object in all non-perfective indicative constructions but cannot be used in subjunctive constructions. The perfective/subjunctive object set is repeated in Table 9 (above) for purposes of comparison.

The existence of two sets of object pronouns distinguished by tense, aspect and mood is relatively rare across languages. The fact that most object pronouns in the perfective set in Puvé have an initial *n* suggests that a marker *n*(V) may once have had the function of distinguishing the object in a perfective clause from the object in a non-perfective clause. It is also possible that the marker *n*(V) at one time served as a postverbal marker of perfective aspect, resulting in the following tentative path of evolution: Verb+*n*V Pronoun > Verb *n*V Pronoun > Verb *n*V+Pronoun.

As shown in chapter 8, non-perfective tenses and aspects may be marked by (a) use of the unmarked tone on the verb, or (b) a preverbal marker followed by the verb with unmarked tone. When the direct object in a non-perfective and non-subjunctive clause is marked by a pronoun, the pronoun follows the tense or aspect marker and precedes the main verb, resulting in the order Subject Tense/Aspect (T/A) marker Object Verb. (The term T/A is used instead of the usual term TAM (tense/aspect/mood) because mood is not indicated by markers before, after, or attached to the verb; it is instead indicated by the choice of pronoun forms and phrase-final particles (see chapter 9)). The means of coding

the direct object function of a pronoun in a non-perfective clause is thus quite different from the means of coding the direct object function of a pronoun in a perfective clause (see above), where the pronominal direct object immediately follows the verb. Recall that the nominal direct object in a clause with only one non-subject argument immediately follows the verb, regardless of the tense, aspect, or mood of the clause. Thus, the only situation in which the direct object precedes the verb is the non-perfective/non-subjunctive clause that has a pronominal object:

Here are some examples contrasting the position of the non-perfective object pronoun with that of the perfective object pronoun:

Imperfective aspect (S T/A OV):

- (53) *lum wá sá ti*
 lion IMPF 3F.O eat
 'the lion is eating it'

Cf. the perfective form (SVO):

- (54) *lum tí sá*
 lion eat 3F.O
 'the lion ate it'

Future tense (non-perfective) (S T/A OV):

- (55) *ta dà nùm pum-u*
 3F FUT 3M.O hit-FV
 'she will hit him'

Cf. the perfective form (SVO):

- (56) *ta púm nùm*
 3F hit 3M.O
 'she hit him'

Other examples of the non-perfective object pronoun in preverbal position:

- (57) *fɪŋ tɛw wə man gun-u*
 smell meat IMPF 1SG.O bother-FV
 'the smell of the meat is bothering me'

- (58) *mum dà sá tsoḅ síw(-i)*
 3M FUT 3F.O buy tomorrow(-FV)
 'he will buy it tomorrow'

In a clause that has the same arguments and the same temporal value, the direct object in the form of a full noun follows rather than precedes the verb, resulting in the form S T/A VO:

- (59) *mum dà tsòḅ vu síw(-i)*
 3M FUT buy salt tomorrow-FV
 'he will buy salt tomorrow'

- (60) *mum wá tsòḅ vu*
 3M PRES buy salt
 'he is buying salt (now)'

In a non-perfective clause, the marker coding future tense or imperfective aspect is often omitted in natural discourse. If the direct object is pronominal, the use of a pronoun from the non-perfective set and the position of the pronoun before the verb indicates that the clause is non-perfective, i.e. neither perfective nor subjunctive. Whether the clause is interpreted as imperfective or future depends on the context and the nature of the event:

- (61) *ha màn yè si*
 2M 1SG.O know ASSERT
 'You know me.' or 'You will know me.'

4 Indirect Object

In Pévé, means of distinguishing between the function of indirect object and the function of direct object include the relative order of constituents in the clause and the use of the designated indirect object marker *ne*, derived from the noun *ne* 'give'. The form *ne* is glossed 'ADP' for 'adposition', as it sometimes occurs before the noun or pronoun representing the indirect object and sometimes occurs after the noun or pronoun representing the indirect object (see below). As shown in Améka 2003, the use of the same adposition in either prenominal or postnominal position is very rare across languages (the example Améka 2003 provides comes from Dutch, as described in Van Riemsdijk 1990). As shown below, the means of coding the grammatical role of the indi-

rect object in Pévé depend on the tense, aspect, and mood of the clause and the presence or absence of an overt direct object.

While the precise semantic role of the indirect object is a function of the inherent meaning of the verb and the arguments in the clause, the indirect object is typically less directly affected by the event than is the direct object. The semantic roles of indirect object arguments include the recipient of a thing given, the beneficiary of the event, the addressee of certain verbs, and a participant who suffers from the event ('malefactive'). The semantic roles of the indirect object are further discussed in chapter 7.

The following sections describe the means of marking the indirect object role of a nominal argument, the means of marking the indirect object role of a pronominal argument in a perfective or subjunctive clause, and the means of marking the indirect object role of a pronominal argument in a non-perfective clause.

4.1 *Nominal Indirect Object*

When the indirect object in a perfective or non-perfective clause is represented by a noun rather than a pronoun, the function of the indirect object can be marked by the adposition *ne* followed by the associative preposition *kə*. The order of constituents is S V O *ne* *kə* IO:

- (62) *mum ti fún bay mum ár kam rùm ne kə*
 3M eat food CONJ 3M leave remainder 3M.POSS ADP ASSC
vay um-u
 child 3M.POSS-FV
 'he ate, but he left the rest for his son'

In many cases involving a nominal indirect object, the adposition *ne* is omitted. This is true for both perfective and non-perfective clauses (as shown in section 4.2.2 below, the omission of *ne* is not limited to clauses with the verb *né* 'give'):

Perfective:

- (63) *Taú né kwá kə ndzar rum kuni kódàn ti*
 T. give thing ASSC sisters 3M.POSS DED.PL PURP eat
 'Tau gave his sisters something to eat'

Non-perfective:

- (64) *ya vay wá né kwáti kə vay*
 mother IMPF give food ASSC child
 'the mother is giving food to her child'

The adposition *ne* can be omitted even when the clause involves a nominal indirect object but no direct object:

- (65) *mum ndéwa kə yïi*
 3M meet ASSC squirrel
 'He met with Squirrel.'

4.2 *Pronouns as Indirect Object*

The same sets of pronouns (perfective and non-perfective) that represent the direct object may also represent the indirect object, as stated in section 3.2, above. Because the indirect and direct object pronouns are identical, other means must be used to distinguish the indirect object pronoun from the direct object pronoun. These means include (a) the relative order of constituents in the clause, and (b) the adposition *ne*, which can mark the indirect object but not the direct object. Most important, when *ne* does occur it precedes the indirect object pronoun in the perfective or subjunctive clause and follows the indirect object pronoun in the non-perfective clause (see below).

4.2.1 Perfective Set

A clause that is marked for perfective aspect or subjunctive mood and contains a pronominal indirect object has two possible word orders: SV(*ne*) IO O and SV O(*ne*) IO. The form SVO(*ne*) IO appears to be the more common or colloquial form:

- (66) *nambà gi soko ne ni si*
 1PL make thank ADP 2PL.O ASSERT
 'We thank you.' (lit. 'we make thanks for you')

- (67) *ta bá só ne nà-n-a*
 3F clean house ADP 1SG.O-FV
 'she cleaned the house/room for me'

- (68) *bambi tsób kavà ne mbà si*
 grandfather buy hoe ADP 1PL.O ASSERT
 'grandfather bought us a hoe'

The marker *ne* can be omitted, resulting in the structure S V IO O:

- (69) *mum tá? nànn kwá*
 3M show 1SG.O thing
 'he taught me something'

When the main verb in the construction is the verb *né* 'to give' and the direct object pronoun immediately follows the verb, the indirect object pronoun must be marked by the adposition *ne* (S V O *ne* IO):

- (70) *mum né ʒyè ne nànn-a*
 3M give peanuts ADP 1SG.O-FV
 'he gave me peanuts'

In what appears to be a more formal construction, the indirect object pronoun may immediately follow the verb and precede the direct object, without the adposition *ne* (S V IO O). The evidence that *né* in the next example represents the verb 'give' rather than the adposition *ne* is provided by high tone on the verb, which codes the perfective aspect. The more formal version may reflect an aversion to use of the verb *né* and the adposition *ne* in the same clause:

- (71) *mum né nànn ʒyè*
 3M give 1SG.O peanuts
 'he gave me peanuts'

All attested examples in the subjunctive mood, as coded either by the absence of a subject pronoun or by the use of a subject pronoun from the subjunctive set, have the form S V O *ne* IO:

- (72) *à tsoɓ kwáti ne nànn riʔ-i*
 2M.SBJV buy food (lit. 'thing eat') ADP 1SG.O already-FV
 'you'd better buy me something to eat!'

- (73) *à dà il mbì ne mbà riʔ-i*
 2M.SBJV go scoop out water ADP 1PL.O already-FV
 'go fetch us some water!'

If the perfective or subjunctive clause does not contain an overt direct object, the pronominal indirect object must be marked by *ne* even when it occurs in the position after the verb, resulting in the structure S V *ne* IO:

- (74) *na dàn ne nù kum-u*
 1SG say ADP 2M.O yesterday-FV
 'I advised/told you (that) yesterday'

- (75) *na ín ne nù*
 1SG say ADP 2M.O
 'I read (it) for you'

The role of the indirect object can thus be coded by the position immediately after the verb (i.e., without *ne*) if and only if the clause also contains a direct object. What all examples involving an indirect object in the perfective aspect or the subjunctive mood have in common is this: When the marker *ne* is used, it precedes the indirect object noun or pronoun, regardless of the relative order of other constituents in the clause. The importance of this is shown in the next section.

4.2.2 Non-perfective Set

In all tenses, aspects and moods other than the perfective and the subjunctive, the indirect object may be coded in one of two ways: By the marker *ne* **following** the indirect object, in the order S Tense/Aspect V (O) IO *ne*, or by the position immediately before the verb, in the order S Tense/Aspect IO V O. In the latter construction, the indirect object role is coded by preverbal position alone. Evidence that the position of the indirect object before the verb codes non-perfective aspect is that it does not occur in any other type of construction. Indirect object pronouns in non-perfective clauses are identical with direct object pronouns of the non-perfective set (Table 9).

The non-perfective structures S Tense/Aspect V (O) IO *ne* and S Tense/Aspect IO V (O) are attested with the verb 'to give' as well as with other verbs:

S Tense/Aspect V O IO *ne*:

- (76) *na dà gi tsoḃ ya nãw màn ùm ne*
 1SG FUT sell cow 1SG.POSS 3M.O ADP
 'I will sell **him** my cow'

The construction S Tense/Aspect IO V (O) codes focus on the indirect object:

- (77) *na dà ùm gi tsoḃ ya nãw màn-à*
 1SG FUT 3M.O sell cow 1SG.POSS-FV
 'I will sell him my cow'

In the non-perfective clause involving the verb ‘to give’, as in the perfective clause, the form without the adposition *ne* (S Tense/Aspect IO V O) appears to be more formal than the construction that includes *ne* (S Tense/Aspect V O IO *ne*). Again, this may reflect a constraint on the co-occurrence of the verb *ne* ‘give’ and the grammatical marker *ne*:

S Tense/Aspect IO V O (formal):

- (78) *mum dà mǎn ne hu dǎw-à*
 3M FUT 1SG.O give goat one-FV
 ‘he will give me a goat’

- (79) *mum wá mbà ne hu dǎw-à*
 3M IMPF 1PL.O give goat one-FV
 ‘he is giving us a goat’

S Tense/Aspect V O IO *ne* (colloquial):

- (80) *mum wá ne hu dǎw mbà ne*
 3M IMPF give goat one 1PL.O ADP
 ‘he is giving us a goat’

- (81) *na dà ne hu kə ndzər rin-i*
 1SG FUT give goat ASSC brother 1SG.POSS-FV
 ‘I will give my brother a goat’

As is the case in the perfective or subjunctive clause, the indirect object must be marked by *ne* even if there is no direct object in the clause (in the following example, the form *dàn* ‘word’ is part of the compound verb, not a direct object):

- (82) *na wə in dàn wǔ ne*
 1SG IMPF speak (‘say word’) 2M.POSS ADP
 ‘I am speaking on your behalf’

5 Summary of the Coding of Grammatical Roles

Pronouns that function as arguments (subject, direct object, indirect object) distinguish the following categories: subject of an indicative clause, subject

TABLE 10 Pronoun chart

	Subject		Object/indirect object	
	Indicative	Subjunctive	Perfective/subjunctive	Non-perfective*
1SG	<i>na</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>nàn</i>	<i>màn</i>
2M	<i>ha</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>nù</i>	<i>wũ</i>
2F	<i>híj, háj</i>	<i>íj, ój</i>	<i>nàj</i>	<i>màj</i>
3M	<i>mum</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>nùm</i>	<i>ùm</i>
3F	<i>ta</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>
1PL	<i>nambà</i>	<i>má</i>	<i>mbà</i>	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>hí</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>nì</i>	<i>mì</i>
3PL	<i>handày</i>	<i>kunə</i>	<i>ndày</i>	<i>ndày</i>

* The set of non-perfective object pronouns also code alienable possession, as shown in chapter 5. Pronouns from a different set, described in chapter 5, function as objects of prepositions and as markers of inalienable possession.

of a subjunctive clause, direct or indirect object of a perfective or subjunctive clause, and direct or indirect object of all other clauses ('non-perfective'). Table 10 compares the various pronoun forms. All pronouns distinguish masculine and feminine gender in the second- and third-person singular forms. A pronoun labeled as 'Object' can represent either the direct or the indirect object. The presence of the initial /n/ in a number of perfective object pronouns and the presence of the initial /m/ in a number of non-perfective object pronouns suggest traces of earlier pre-pronominal markers, which may have once served as postverbal markers.

The noun or pronoun representing the subject always precedes the verb. Other elements, including other arguments, may intervene between the indicative subject and the verb. The subjunctive subject pronoun can be omitted with no apparent change in meaning or function.

In a perfective or non-perfective clause with only a subject and a nominal direct object, the object noun immediately follows the verb. In a perfective clause with only a subject and a pronominal object, the object pronoun follows the verb. In a non-perfective clause with only a subject and a pronominal object, the object pronoun precedes the verb. In a clause with only a subject and an indirect object, the indirect object noun follows the verb and is marked by the adposition *ne*. The adposition precedes the indirect object in the perfective and follows the indirect object in the non-perfective.

TABLE 11 Summary of coding means for grammatical relations

Participants involved*	Order of constituents	
	Perfective/subjunctive	Non-perfective
S, O _N	S V O	S (T/A) V O
S, O _{PRO}	S V O	S (T/A) O V
S, IO _{N/PRO}	S V <i>ne</i> IO	S (T/A) V IO <i>ne</i>
S, O _{N/PRO} , IO _{PRO}	S V O <i>ne</i> IO,	S (T/A) V O IO <i>ne</i> ,
	S V <i>ne</i> IO O,	S (T/A) IO V O
	S V IO O	
S, O _{N/PRO} , IO _N	S V O <i>ne</i> <i>kə</i> IO	S (T/A) V O <i>kə</i> IO

* The marker _N indicates that the constituent order applies only if the argument is represented by a full noun; the marker _{PRO} indicates that the order applies only if the argument is represented by a pronoun; and the marker _{N/PRO} indicates that the order applies whether the argument is a noun or a pronoun.

In a clause containing a subject, an object, and an indirect object, the means of distinguishing the direct object from the indirect object depends on the aspect and mood of the clause and on whether the argument is represented by a noun or a pronoun. The basics are outlined in Table 11. 'N' represents a noun; 'PRO' represents a pronoun; 'T/A' represents a marker of tense or aspect; *ne* is an adposition whose role is confined to marking the indirect object; and *kə* is the associative preposition. The nominal or pronominal status of the subject, or even the absence of a subject, has no impact on other coding means. Because there are no Tense/Aspect markers in any perfective/subjunctive clauses, and because Tense/Aspect markers can often be omitted from non-perfective clauses, pronoun forms and constituent order are often the only means of coding tense and aspect.

The following generalizations can be made about the preceding chart:

1. In the perfective clause, *ne* precedes the indirect object
2. In the non-perfective clause, *ne* follows the indirect object
3. In the perfective clause, the indirect object can be marked by position alone, provided it immediately follows the verb and is immediately followed by a nominal direct object.
4. The position between subject and verb serves as a coding means in two circumstances:
 - (a) in the non-perfective clause with a pronominal direct object and no indirect object (S O V); and

- (b) in the non-perfective clause with a nominal or pronominal indirect object and a nominal direct object, the order S (Tense/Aspect) IO V O alternates with S (Tense/Aspect) V IO *ne*.

As noted in earlier sections, there can be alternative constructions for the same set of participants. The evidence that this is not a function of the choice of lexical items is that a clause with the same verb and the same participants may have different forms. For example, the perfective forms S V O *ne* IO, S V *ne* IO O, and S (Tense/Aspect) IO V O are all attested involving the verbs 'to sell' and 'to give', with the same participants. The non-perfective forms S (Tense/Aspect) V O IO *ne* and S (Tense/Aspect) IO V O are both attested with the verb 'to sell' and the same participants.

6 Conclusion

The nominal or pronominal subject precedes the verb and is usually sentence-initial. The subject may be separated from the verb by a number of lexical and grammatical items. Subject pronouns belong to one of two sets, indicative and subjunctive.

A direct object noun immediately follows the verb. Like subject pronouns, object pronouns are divided into two sets. Unlike subject pronouns, object pronouns distinguish between the perfective/subjunctive set vs. the non-perfective set. In the perfective/subjunctive clause the direct object pronoun follows the verb (SVO), while in the non-perfective clause the direct object pronoun follows the tense/aspect marker and precedes the verb (S Tense/Aspect O V).

In the perfective or subjunctive clause, the role of the indirect object noun or pronoun is coded either by the marker *ne* before the indirect object or by the position of the indirect object immediately after the verb, provided the clause also contains a direct object. In the non-perfective clause, the indirect object is coded either by the marker *ne* after the indirect object or by the position immediately before the verb. In no other circumstances does the indirect object precede the verb.

Coding Semantic Relations

1 Introduction

This chapter describes various semantic relations attested in the Pévé data base, which consists of stories related by Lazare Wambadang, recorded conversations between Wambadang and other Pévé speakers, French-Pévé translations elicited from Wambadang in order to test or illustrate the proposed function of a given form, and data volunteered by Wambadang for similar purposes (see chapter 1, section 4). Semantic relations between arguments and the predicate can be inferred from the inherent properties of the predicate and the arguments, the linear order of constituents, the use of serial verb constructions, the presence or absence of other arguments, the use of prepositions, and the use of adjuncts (see chapter 21).

2 Semantic Role of the Subject

As noted in chapter 6, the grammatical relation ‘subject’ does not imply a particular semantic relationship between noun and verb. There are no apparent means in Pévé of coding different semantic roles of the subject. However, different semantic roles of the subject can be deduced from the nature of the predicate and other arguments in the clause, the use of modality markers, and shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer. This section describes the semantic roles of the subject attested in the data.

The subject of an intransitive verb may be controlling or affected, without additional marking:

Controlling:

- (1) *namba tá?kóri* *Garoua kə* *njike tswóho? məkbàkà*
namba tá? *káwri* *Garoua kə* *njike tsóho?* *mə* *kə*
 1PL went arrive G. ASSC iron eight REL ASSC

bàkà

morning

‘We arrived in Garoua at eight o’clock in the morning.’ (*kə njike* ‘with iron’ corresponds to ‘of the clock’)

Affected:

- (2) *namba dáj? mbà tʃík báyrúm*
nambà dáj? [na]mbà tʃík báyrúm
 1PL all 1PL tire (V) very
 'All of us, we were very tired.'

- (3) *tú màn ti*
 body 1SG.POSS eat/hurt
 'I am sick' ('my body is hurting')

In a clause referring to a point in time before the time of speech, the affected argument may be represented by an object pronoun or by a possessive pronoun:

- (4) *tú ti nàñ*
 body eat/ail 1SG.O
 'I was sick' ('(my) body ailed me')

or

- (5) *tú màn ti*
 body 1SG.POSS eat/ail
 'I was sick' ('my body was ailing')

In a transitive clause with a subject and a non-subject argument, the subject is more controlling and/or less affected than the non-subject. The latter may be either the direct object or the indirect object:

- (6) *na ti ʔew nãw kúm-ú*
 1SG eat meat bovine yesterday-FV
 'I ate beef yesterday'

- (7) *na wé nẽʔ-ẽ*
 1SG see hippo-FV
 'I saw a/the hippo'

- (8) *na ín ne nù*
 1SG say ADP 2M.O
 'I read (it) for you'

When the clause has only one argument, that argument is the subject. The subject may be controlling or non-controlling, affected or unaffected. Like all other Chadic languages described so far, Pévé has no grammaticalized passive construction in which the subject is affected and the controlling argument can be marked as the object of a preposition.

Whether the subject is controlling or non-controlling is not an inherent function of the verb. The single argument of the transitive verb *gi* ‘to do, to make’, for example, can be either controlling or non-controlling.

Controlling:

- (9) *má gi ye*
 1PL do PROM
 ‘let’s do (it)’

Non-controlling:

- (10) *varirkwayrùm gi ndá na?*
vari rəkway rùm gí ndá na
 trip 3M.POSS do like I.PRO
 ‘The trip was like that.’

The same is true with the verb *vrá?* ‘to give’ birth: The subject may be either controlling or affected, and there is no indication of a change in valency:

- (11) *ma vrá? si*
 woman/wife give birth ASSERT
 ‘the woman/wife gave birth (to the child)’

Affected subject:

- (12) *vay vrá? si*
 child give birth ASSERT
 ‘the child was born’

The single argument of the verb *tsoḃ* ‘to buy’ may be controlling or non-controlling, with no marker of a change in valency:

Controlling:

- (13) *handày tsób ya nãw-ã*
 3PL buy cow-FV
 'they bought a cow (fem.)'

Non-controlling:

- (14) *ya nãw tsób si*
 cow buy ASSERT
 'the cow was sold' (not 'the cow bought (something)')

The subject in a single-argument clause may be affected, regardless of whether the referent is human or non-human:

- (15) *kəri m̀ni naʔdáy só màn na tʃík báyrúm*
kəri m̀ni na tá dáy só màn na tʃík báyrúm
 when 1SG go arrive house 1SG.POSS 1SG tire (V) much
 'When I got home I was very tired.'

- (16) *ʃin gí si*
 work done ASSERT
 'the work is/has been done'

- (17) *ndžin man ndózu si*
ndžin man ndóʔ zù s̀
 story 1SG.POSS finish bottom ASSERT
 'My story has ended.'

When the animate subject could potentially be either controlling or affected, control is the default interpretation:

- (18) *ya nãw ti si*
 cow eat ASSERT
 'the cow ate' (not 'the cow was eaten')

When control is not an option, the subject is interpreted as affected:

- (19) *ya nãw tsób si*
 cow buy ASSERT
 'the cow was purchased' (cows don't buy things)

3 Semantic Role of the Direct Object

The direct object is defined here as a non-subject argument that is marked solely by position with respect to the verb (see chapter 6, above). As is the case with the subject, there is no dedicated formal means of coding the semantic relationship of the object. However, one can generalize that in a clause with both a subject and a direct object, the direct object is more affected and/or less controlling than the subject:

- (20) *mòta nyén dapa ga? ti báyrúm*
 car (Ful.) fill bank side PROX much
 'Cars filled this side of the (river) bank.'

- (21) *ta tʃinik fun*
 3F stir boule
 'she stirred the boule'

In a clause with a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object, the direct object is more affected and/or less controlling than either of the two other arguments. There is no marker indicating the specific nature, i.e. affecting vs. controlling, of the semantic relationship between the verb and the direct object:

- (22) *na dà ne hu kə ndzər rin-i*
 1SG FUT give goat ASSC brother 1SG.POSS
 'I will give my brother a goat'

- (23) *ta gítsoɓ mbir kĩ ne kə yá man-a*
 3F sell milk small give ASSC mother 1SG.POSS-FV
 'She sold my mother a little milk.'

4 Semantic Role of the Indirect Object

In a clause with two non-subject arguments, the indirect object argument refers to a participant that is indirectly affected by the event or that is less affected/controlled by the event than is the direct object. As shown in chapter 6, the indirect object role of a noun can be marked by linear order alone provided the clause also contains a direct object. In a clause without a direct object, the indirect object must be marked by the adposition *ne*.

The fact that the role of the indirect object must be overtly marked in the absence of the direct object provides evidence that the semantic role of the indirect object is distinct from that of the direct object. The nature of the semantic role depends on the inherent properties of the verb, the subject, the indirect object, and the direct object, if present. The semantic roles of indirect object arguments include the recipient of a thing given, sold or procured; the viewer of a thing shown; the beneficiary of the event; the addressee of certain verbs; and the entity that suffers from the event ('malefactive'; see below). Here are examples of indirect objects with the semantic role of recipient:

- (24) *na dà wũ ne hu*
 1SG FUT 2M.O give goat
 'I will give you a goat'
- (25) *à dà kyeɓ ɛw ne mbà riʔ-i*
 2M.SBJV go find meat ADP 1PL.O already-FV
 'go get us some meat'
- (26) *ta gí tsoɓ mbìr kí ne nà-n-a*
 3F sell milk few, small give 1SG.O-FV
 'she sold me a little milk'

Recall that when the indirect object is represented by a noun rather than a pronoun, the indirect object can be marked by the associative preposition *kə*, which may or may not be preceded by the adposition *ne*. The presence or absence of *ne* in the construction with *kə* does not affect the semantic role of the marked object:

- (27) *Taú ne kwa (ne) kə ndzar rum kuni kádàn ti*
 T. give thing ADP ASSC sisters 3M.POSS DED.PL PURP eat
 'Tau gave his sisters something to eat.'

Recall that pronouns coding alienable possession are from the same set as those that code the direct or indirect object in a non-perfective clause (see chapters 5 and 6). Certain pronouns, namely *sá* (3F), *mbà* (1PL), and *ndày* (3PL.POSS and variant of the 3PL subject marker [*ha*]*ndày*), have the same form when coding inalienable possession or the perfective object. Because of this functional overlap, the adposition *ne* is sometimes the only indicator of the semantic role of the pronominal indirect object:

Recipient:

- (28) *bambi tsóɓ kavà ne mbà si*
 grandfather buy hoe ADP 1PL.O ASSERT
 'grandfather bought us a hoe'

Cf. the same pronoun in the possessive role, as indicated solely by absence of the adposition *ne*:

- (29) *bambi tsóɓ kavà mbà si*
 grandfather bought hoe 1PL.POSS ASSERT
 'grandfather bought our hoe'

As is the case in many languages, recipient is only one of the semantic roles represented by the indirect object. The indirect object may be the beneficiary of an event that does not involve transfer of an object:

- (30) *mum kura finè ne nàn-a*
 3M cultivate field ADP 1SG.O-FV
 'he cultivated a field for me'

- (31) *na wə in dàn wũ ne*
 1SG IMPF say word 2M.O ADP
 'I am talking for you'

- (32) *ta bá só ne nàn-a*
 3F clean house ADP 1SG.O-FV
 'she cleaned a room for me'

Compare the possessive construction, where the possessive pronoun is from the alienable set:

- (33) *ta bá só màn-a*
 3F clean house 1SG.POSS-FV
 'she cleaned my room'

The indirect object can also be the viewer of a thing shown, which may be abstract or concrete:

- (34) *mum tá? kwá nə nan-a*
 3M show thing ADP 1SG-FV
 'he taught me' (lit. 'he showed a thing to me')
- (35) *mum lé?i na mum tá?á tɸyʊm néũm*
mum lá? i na mum tá? tú rùm ne nùm
 3M say COMP I.PRO 3M show body 3M.POSS ADP 3M.O
sí
sí
 ASSERT
 'He said that he would show himself to him'

Compare the viewer of a thing shown with a viewer who sees something that has not been shown to him/her. In the latter case, the viewer is marked as the subject:

- (36) *mum wé nàn wa vari*
 3M see 1SG.O PREP (lit. 'head') road
 'he saw me on the road'

The indirect object may also have the semantic role of the addressee of a verb of saying (see also chapter 19):

- (37) *handày ín né mbà, má ɣyá só mà mbàrí sí*
 3PL say ADP 1PL.O 1PL.SBJV leave village POSS large ASSERT
 'They told us we should leave the town ('the village that is large').'

When the verb of saying is a compound verb, the addressee is marked as the possessor of the nominal constituent of the compound verb:

- (38) *handày tsí vún mbà i mum ndzàr mbà su*
 3PL ask 1PL.POSS COMP 3M brother 1PL.POSS Q
 'they asked us (lit. 'asked our mouth') if he is our brother'

Some languages have a dedicated means of indicating that the effect of the event on a participant was malefactive, i.e., that the participant was negatively affected by the event. Pévé does not make this distinction; instead the same means used in the recipient and benefactive predications described above can be used in malefactive predications, as shown below. Like the nominal recipient or beneficiary, the negatively affected participant in the perfective clause is marked by the sequence (*ne*) *kə*:

- (39) *mum pe wa ne kə dzənàk kə ndi*
 3M hit head ADP ASSC guinea fowl ASSC 3SG.O
 'He hit the guinea fowl on the head with it.'
- (40) *mum ge nē? ne kə vɔy um-u*
 3M throw curse ADP ASSC child 3M.O-FV
 'he cursed (lit. 'threw a curse at') his son'
- (41) *mum kəy ba ne nan(-a)*
 3M break hand ADP hand-FV
 'he broke my hand' (lit. 'broke my hand for me')

5 Source

Nouns that do not represent the subject, direct object, or indirect object may be marked for a variety of semantic roles. One such role is the source of a thing given or purchased, marked by the preposition *bá* 'from', derived from the noun *bá* 'hand'. The preposition is followed by a noun or an inalienable possessive pronoun:

- (42) *na tsób bá ndzar rú*
 1SG buy from ('hand') sister 2M.POSS
 'I bought (it) from your sister'
- (43) *à o fún ba rum ye*
 2M.SBJV request boule from 3M.POSS PERM
 'ask him for food'

Compare with the beneficiary, represented by a non-possessive pronoun:

- (44) *à o fún ne nùm ye*
 2M.SBJV request boule ADP 3M.O PERM
 'ask for food for him!'

The source is distinct from the possessor, as shown by the following examples:

Source:

- (45) *mum tsób ya nãw swə məsín bá* *Taú*
 3M buy cow man other from ('hand') T.
 'he bought someone else's cow from Tau'

Possessor:

- (46) *mum tsób ya nãw Taú*
 3M buy cow T.
 'he bought Tau's cow'

6 Reciprocal

A reciprocal predication is defined here as a predication in which the referents denoted by a plural subject noun or pronoun act simultaneously upon one another: X acts on Y and Y acts on X. This function in Pévè is coded by the reciprocal marker *ndʒi* at the end of the clause:

- (47) *handày púm ndʒi*
 3PL hit RECIP
 'they hit each other'
- (48) *nambà wá ge dàn mbòk ndʒi*
 1PL IMPF talk ('throw words') between RECIP
 'we are talking to each other'
- (49) *handày mbá kádàn handày káw bá ndʒi*
 3PL come PURP 3PL help ('grab hand') RECIP
 'they came to help each other'

Compare the non-reciprocal form, where X acts on Y but Y does not act on X. In this case, the marker *ndʒi* does not occur:

- (50) *handày géwa tá só ndày-a*
 3PL return go house 3PL.POSS-FV
 'they returned to their home'

In some elicited sentences the reciprocal marker is preceded by the noun *wa* ‘head’, which also functions as the preposition ‘on’ (see chapter 10):

- (51) *nambà mbá gí sin wa ndzì*
 1PL come do work head RECIP
 ‘we came here to work together’

When the reciprocal marker *ndzì* is preceded by the associative preposition *kə*, the subject referents did not act on one another but instead acted jointly. The function of *ndzì* is this very similar to the function of ‘each other’ in English, where ‘they hit each other’ codes the reciprocal function and ‘they went with each other’ codes a joint action:

- (52) *handày tá Garoua kə ndzì*
 3PL go G. ASSC RECIP
 ‘they went to Garoua’

7 Coreferentiality of Subject and Object

In the coreferential construction, the controlling argument (subject) and the non-controlling/affected argument (object) have the same referent. (Coreferentiality in the complex sentence, e.g. between an argument in the matrix clause and an argument in the complement clause, is described in chapter 19, section 2.1.1). Coreferentiality within the clause is marked by use of the noun *tú* ‘body’ in object position followed by a possessive pronoun coreferential with the subject. The pronoun has the form that is used to code inalienable possession (chapter 5):

- (53) *mum gé kalam tu rùm-u*
 3M injure (lit. ‘throw accident’) body 3M.POSS-FV
 ‘he hurt himself’
- (54) *dàw úr ndá? kə tú ndày-á*
 child mount horse ASSC body 3PL.POSS-FV
 ‘the children made themselves mount the horse’ (lit. ‘mounted the horse with their bodies’)

Compare the non-coreferential form, where the subject and the affected argument have different referents and the noun *tú* ‘body’ does not occur. In the

following example the object is represented by a possessive pronoun because the second component of the compound verb is a noun (see above and chapter 4):

- (55) *mum gé kalam rùm-ù*
 3M hurt 3M.POSS-FV
 'he₁ hurt him₂'

In the coreferential construction, the possessive pronoun can be omitted if it is clear that the possessor of the noun *tú* 'body' is coreferential with the subject:

- (56) *mum géwa tà só um bay mum mbi tú*
 3M return go house 3M.POSS CONJ 3M wash ('water') body
 'he went back home and washed (him)self'

When the affected argument is a body part with a third-person possessor, there is no distinction between coreferentiality of the subject and object (reflexive) and absence of coreferentiality:

- (57) *mum háy syem rùm-ù*
 3M cut leg, foot 3M.POSS-FV
 'he₁ cut his₁ leg' or 'he₁ cut his₂ leg'

8 Conclusion

The semantic role of the subject may be controlling or non-controlling, affected or unaffected, without additional marking. Although there is no passive construction, the subject of a transitive verb in the construction Subject Verb can represent the affected argument, without additional marking. Whether or not the subject is affected is a function of the nature of the verb, the nature of the subject argument, and the context.

The semantic role of the direct object may be that of the affected object or the object of perception. Semantic roles of the indirect object, as coded by the means described in chapter 7, include recipient, beneficiary, malefactive, addressee, and others. Semantic functions coded by additional means include source, reciprocal, and reflexive.

Tense and Aspect

1 Introduction

As shown in chapters 5 and 6, the coding of tense and aspect in Pévé is closely tied to the coding of grammatical relations using pronouns and nouns. While there exist markers whose function is to code tense or aspect, these markers are sometimes omitted. In some constructions, this leaves the order of constituents and/or the choice of pronouns as the only means of coding tense or aspect.

Pévé codes only one tense, the future tense, which is marked by the preverbal marker *dà* followed by the verb with its underlying tone. The language codes the following aspectual distinctions: perfective aspect, coded by high tone on the verb; imperfective aspect, coded by the preverbal marker *wá* followed by the verb with underlying tone; progressive aspect, coded by the preverbal marker *ké* followed by the verb with underlying tone; and the unmarked tense/aspect, coded by the unmarked verb stem alone, without any markers of tense or aspect. Interestingly, tense/aspect distinctions coded in complement clauses are limited to the perfective aspect, the unmarked aspect, and perhaps the future tense (see chapters 8 and 19). The fact that the distinctions coded in complement clauses differ from those coded in independent clauses supports the notion of pragmatically dependent vs. pragmatically independent clauses (cf. Creissels 2008, Bril 2010).

When the tense or aspect of a clause is indicated by an independent marker, as is the case for the future tense, the imperfective aspect, and progressive aspect, the tense or aspect marker occurs after the subject noun or pronoun and before the main verb (S Tense/Aspect V). In a clause in which the object or indirect object also precedes the verb (see chapter 6), the tense or aspect marker follows the subject and precedes the non-subject argument (S Tense/Aspect O/IO V). As shown below, other material may also intervene between the subject and the tense/aspect marker and between the tense/aspect marker and the main verb.

Unlike in many Chadic languages, markers of tense and aspect in Pévé may co-occur within the same clause (see section 2.2, below). Use of the acronym ‘Tense/Aspect (‘T/A’) marker’ in the current work reflects the fact that tense and aspect markers, when they occur, precede the main verb. In rare instances in which a tense marker and an aspect marker co-occur in the same clause, the order of elements is S Aspect Tense Verb. The widely used acronym ‘TAM

(‘tense/aspect/mood’) marker’ is not used here, since markers of mood in Péré are clause-final or clause-initial (see chapter 9).

This chapter describes the grammatical means of coding tense and aspect and the interaction of those means with the coding of grammatical relations. The coding of mood is discussed in chapter 9.

2 Future Tense

2.1 *Form of the Future Tense*

The future tense is marked by the form *dà*, probably derived from the verb *dà* ‘to go’, followed by the main verb. The main verb carries its underlying tone, i.e., the tone that occurs in the citation form, in the unmarked verb form, and in all tenses and aspects other than the perfective (see sections 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4, below):

- (1) *Taú dà tà lúmò*
 T. FUT walk market
 ‘Tau will walk to the market’

- (2) *bà ha dà we sakə sà sù*
báy ha dà we sa kə sa su
 CONJ 2M FUT know who ASSC who Q
 ‘So how will you know who is who?’

Evidence that the future marker *dà* in such constructions is a grammatical marker and not the phonetically similar verb ‘to go’ is provided by the fact that the future construction does not necessarily involve movement (see preceding example). Moreover, the future marker may co-occur with the main verb *dà* ‘to go’, evidence that the two forms have different functions:

- (3) *Taú dà dà lúmò*
 T. FUT go market
 ‘Tau will go to the market’

As shown in chapter 6, an object pronoun from the non-perfective set can intervene between the future marker and the main verb. This is evidence that the future marker, like other tense/aspect markers, is a constituent that is separate from the main verb:

- (4) *ta dā nùm pum-u*
 3F FUT 3M.O hit-FV
 'she will hit him'

The negative marker *tsú* may also occur between the subject marker and the future tense marker:

- (5) *na tsú dā gi tsoɓ ya nãw màn ùm ne mì*
 1SG NEG FUT sell cow 1SG.POSS 3M.O ADP NEG
 'I will not sell him my cow'

2.2 Function of the Future Tense

Evidence that the future marker *dā* codes the future tense is that it can be used with an adverbial referring to a specific time in the future:

- (6) *ta dā gewa Garoua síw*
 3M FUT return G. tomorrow
 'she will return from Garoua tomorrow'
- (7) *dayna dùkrí mà tám (pause) namba dā ke wə Garoua*
 after night REL today 1PL FUT COP PREP G.
 'After tonight, we will be in Garoua.'

The marker *dā* cannot be used in a clause that refers to the past or the time of speech:

- (8) *na *dā tsóɓ vú kúm-ú*
 1SG FUT buy salt yesterday-FV
 *for 'I bought salt yesterday'
- (9) *á *dā tà rəʔ /riʔ/ go [gwa]*
 1SG FUT walk already now
 *for 'I can come on in now'

Both clauses are grammatical without the future tense marker:

- (10) *na tsóɓ vú kúm-ú*
 1SG buy salt yesterday-FV
 'I bought salt yesterday'

- (11) á tà rəʔ/riʔ/ go [gwa]
 1SG walk already now
 'I can come on in now'

Evidence that the future marker *də* codes tense rather than aspect is that it can be used in reference to a future bounded event, a future ongoing event, or a future state, all of which are functions in the domain of aspect:

- (12) kəri mənɪ kwáti làʔ gíndóʔ si, nambà də ti
 when food COND finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 'when/if the food is ready, we will eat'

- (13) nambà də ba(r) dùkrí kerker kə gi sin-i
 1PL FUT sleep/pass night all the time ASSC do work-FV
 'we will spend the night working' (some Pévé dialects use *bar* while others use *ba*)

- (14) ta də kə bay mən-a
 3F FUT be friend 1SG.POSS-FV
 'she will be my friend'

Further evidence that *də* is a tense marker is that it can co-occur with a marker of aspect, such as the imperfective marker *wə*. The marking of both tense and aspect in the same clause is unusual in Chadic languages. In the following examples, the imperfective marker is not required, but its use is considered grammatical:

- (15) ta láʔá nambà (wə) də Pala
 3F say 1PL IMPF go P.
 'she said, "We will be going to Pala"'
- (16) handəy (wə) də tsof bəfyek man ne
 3PL IMPF FUT buy corn 1SG.O ADP
 'they will be buying corn for me'

3 Aspect

The following aspectual distinctions are marked within the verb phrase: Perfective aspect, coded by high tone on the verb; imperfective aspect, coded by the

preverbal marker *wá*; progressive aspect, coded by the copula *ké* followed by the main verb; and the unmarked aspect, coded by use of the verb with underlying tone and no other markers.

An aspect marker, like the future marker, follows the subject noun or pronoun and precedes the verb. As illustrated in sections 3.2 and 3.3, other material may intervene between the subject marker and the aspect marker or between the aspect marker and the verb.

3.1 *Perfective Aspect*

3.1.1 Form

The perfective aspect is marked by relative high tone on the verb, regardless of the underlying (also called ‘unmarked’) tone of the verb. The tone on the perfective verb is higher than the tone of the syllable that precedes the verb (for more detailed discussion of the nature of tone, see chapter 2):

- (17) *na tí ɬew nãw kúm-ú*
 1SG eat meat bovine yesterday-FV
 ‘I ate beef yesterday’ (unmarked form *tí* ‘to eat’)

- (18) *mum tá lúmò kə s-á*
 3M go market ASSC 3F.O-FV
 ‘he went to the market with her’ (unmarked form *tà* ‘to walk’)

When the verb has underlying high tone, there is no formal distinction between the perfective aspect and the unmarked aspect:

- (19) *mum súk kə mbà zà bàkà ɬfep-e*
 3M stay, live, sit ASSC 1PL.O PREP day few-FV
 ‘he stayed with us for a few days’

Cf. the unmarked aspect:

- (20) *Taú súk ka su*
 T. stay, live, sit where Q
 ‘where does Tau live?’

If the verb is bisyllabic, only the first syllable carries high tone in the perfective:

- (21) *mum géwa Garoua bay mum ýá vari Maroua (sí)*
 3M return G. CONJ 3M leave road M. ASSERT
 'he returned from Garoua and he departed for Maroua'

If the verb is a compound verb consisting of a verb followed by a noun, the high tone coding the perfective is carried only by the verbal constituent of the compound. The nominal constituent of the compound has its underlying tone:

- (22) *na ín dàn ne nù*
 1SG say ('speak word') ADP 2M.O
 'I said something for you' (unmarked forms are *in* 'speak' and *dàn* 'word')

Cf. the following, where *dàn* functions as the verb and so carries the high tone that marks the perfective:

- (23) *na dán ne nù*
 1SG word ADP 2M.O
 'I told you so' (lit. 'I gave you word')

In a serial verb construction of the form Verb+Verb, each verb carries high tone in the perfective:

- (24) *kəri mənì handày fáy tá dáy Garoua*
 when 3PL repeat go arrive G.
 'When they got back to Garoua ...'

Evidence that relative high tone on the verb is a coding means is that a verb whose underlying form has low or mid tone cannot carry high tone in a clause involving a marker of another tense or aspect, such as the future tense marker *dà* or the imperfective aspect marker *wá*:

- (25) *mum dà gewa/*géwa Garoua síw*
 3M FUT return G. tomorrow
 'he will return from Garoua tomorrow'
- (26) *mum wá gewa/*géwa Garoua*
 3M IMPF return G.
 'he is returning from Garoua'

3.1.2 Function

The perfective aspect, marked by high tone on the verb, is used to describe a bounded event or state. The event or state may have been completed or come to an end prior to the time of speech, or it may be expected to be completed or ended after the time of speech. The evidence that high tone on the verb codes perfective aspect rather than the past tense is that the verb with high tone can be used with reference to past, present, or future time (see below).

The perfective aspect may be used with reference to a single event that was completed before the time of speech:

- (27) *nambà ʔý ti ... kə ndzikèt (error) əə ndʒike vát mə*
nambà ʔyá ti kə ndʒike t əə ndʒike vát mə
 1PL leave PROX ASSC iron (error) uh iron five REL
riyà
riyà
 evening
 'We left here at five o'clock in the evening.'

- (28) *mum(l)áʔá ɛɛ suməʃin dù ri dǎw téa bàl*
mum láʔá ɛɛ swə məsín dù ri dǎw té bal
 3M say eh man other within 2PL.POSS one take credit
dəbǎʔ màn wǎyzàʔ kǔm-ú
dəbǎʔ màn wǎy zàʔ kúm-ú
 tobacco 1SG.POSS day before yesterday-FV
 'He said, "One of you took my tobacco on credit (lit. 'my tobacco's credit') the day before yesterday.'"

The evidence that high tone on the verb marks the perfective aspect rather than the past tense is that a verb marked for perfective aspect may refer to a bounded event that will occur in the future. In this case, the verb is preceded by the conditional marker *làʔ* (see chapter 18) and followed by *si*, the marker of assertive modality (see chapter 9):

- (29) *kwáti làʔ gí ndóʔ si nambà dè ti*
 food COND do finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 'when/if the food is finished (i.e., ready), we will eat' (*gi* 'do': citation/unmarked form)

- (30) *tfer la? dām zú si nambà də tɛŋ sin-i*
 moon COND climb rise ASSERT 1PL FUT start work-FV
 'after the moon rises, we will go to work'
- (31) *handày la? tsób so si handày də ta rəkway-a*
 3PL COND buy house ASSERT 3PL FUT go stranger-FV
 'after we buy a house we will travel'

The perfective clause can refer to a non-singulative event or state, provided the event or the state is bounded:

- (32) *na tá Mora syem ráw si*
 1SG go M. time ('foot') many ASSERT
 'I have been to Mora many times'
- (33) *nambà dāŋ? nambà tɸík báyrúm*
 1PL all 1PL tire.V much
 'All of us were very tired.'
- (34) *baybwò syé báyrúm*
bay b̀wò syé báyrúm
 CONJ rain fall much
 'And it rained a lot.'

When the end of the event is the time of speech, the perfective can be used with an adverbial referring to the time of speech:

- (35) *ta dáyri mgbəŋ ni na*
 3F arrive just now now I.PRO
 'she arrived just now'

The perfective aspect may be used with an adverbial coding the duration of the event:

- (36) *mum ndé fyen daka ndzike tsóho? há dáy ndzike kánki mà*
 3M fall sleep since iron eight until arrive iron six REL
vun bàkà
 mouth morning
 'he slept from eight p.m. until six a.m.'

3.2 *Imperfective Aspect*

3.2.1 Form

The imperfective aspect is marked by the aspectual marker *wá* in the position after the subject and before the verb. The verb carries its underlying tone:

- (37) *na wá dʒì (wa) Gwà*
 1SG IMPF wait PREP G.
 'I'm waiting for Gwa'
- (38) *mum wá tsoɓ ya nãw dǎw-à*
 3M IMPF buy cow one-FV
 'he is buying a cow/one cow'
- (39) *namba wá gi ba*
 1PL IMPF do reunion
 'we are doing a reunion'

Compare the perfective form, without *wá*:

- (40) *namba báwá si*
 1PL reunite ASSERT
 'we reunited'

Other material, such as the negative marker *tsú*, may intervene between the subject and the imperfective aspect marker:

- (41) *Séráy tsú wá gí sìn báy dày Táo mì*
 S. NEG IMPF make work good arrive T NEG
 'Séráy works less hard than Tau'

The indirect object pronoun may intervene between the imperfective aspect marker and the verb:

- (42) *mum wá mbà ne hu*
 3M IMPF 1PL.O give goat
 'he is giving us a goat'

3.2.2 Function

The imperfective aspect is used to describe an event that is ongoing at the time of speech:

- (43) *ya vay wá ne kwáti kə vay*
 mother child IMPF give food ASSC child
 'the mother is feeding her child'

- (44) *səmbəd wə səsaʔ-a*
 wind IMPF blow-FV
 'the wind is blowing'

The imperfective aspect is also used to describe a current state:

- (45) *vay wá tuk kədám-à*
 child IMPF feel good-FV
 'the child is satisfied' (lit. 'the child feels good')

Evidence for the function of the imperfective marker is that it can co-occur with an adverbial corresponding to '(right) now':

- (46) *na wá taʔ kwá sá ne go/gwa*
 1SG IMPF show thing 3F.O ADP now
 'I am teaching her now'

The evidence that *wá* codes the imperfective aspect rather than the present tense is that the imperfective aspect can be used to describe an event that was ongoing at a time prior to the time of speech. Note the contrast between the perfective aspect, used to describe the completed event of the first clause, and the imperfective, used to describe the ongoing event of the second clause:

- (47) *mum mbá záʔ mbà ka nambà wá gi ʃin-i*
 3M came find 1PL.O while 1PL IMPF do work-FV
 'he found us while we were working'

Further evidence that *wá* does not code present tense is that it can be used with an adverbial connoting a habitual event that may or may not be happening at the time of speech:

- (48) *mum wá sá tsoḅ man ne tʃẽʔtʃẽʔ-ẽ*
 3M IMPF 3F.O buy 1SG.O ADP always-FV
 'he always buys it for me'
- (49) *ḟtá lúmò tá wá gi tsoḅ súm-u*
 day market 3F IMPF sell beer-FV
 'on market day, she sells beer'

3.3 *Progressive Aspect*

The progressive aspect refers to an event or state that was ongoing before the time of speech (cf. Payne 1997, Comrie 1976 and other sources) or an event or state that is expected to occur after the time of speech. The forms and functions of the progressive aspect are described below.

3.3.1 Form

The progressive aspect is marked by the perfective form of the copula *ké* (sometimes with the surface form *ká*) followed by the main verb (cf. chapter 11 for use of *ké* as the copular main verb). The verb following *ké* is unmarked and carries its underlying tone:

- (50) *tá ké gi tsoḅ mbìr kə ḟtá*
 3F PROG sell milk ASSC dry season
 'she used to sell milk during the dry season'
- (51) *Gwà ké suk wə Mayo-Lope si*
 G. PROG stay, live PREP M.-L. ASSERT
 'Gwa used to live in Mayo-Lope (lit. 'river-mud' (Ful.); a village where Puvé is spoken)'

Reference to an ongoing event that may occur after the time of speech is indicated by the imperfective marker *wá* before the future tense construction *də* + Verb (see chapter 11):

- (52) *námà wá də suk ḟata tam kə bāĩ mba*
 1PL IMPF FUT stay day today ASSC Bar today
 'We will be spending the day today with Bar.'

3.3.2 Function

Evidence that the marker *ké* does not mark the past tense is that *ké* can be used in a clause with an adverbial referring to the time of speech. The function of

such a clause is to indicate that an ongoing state or event ended precisely at the time of speech:

- (53) *ta ni ké ge ndo? sin sá na*
 3F now PROG finish work 3F.POSS I.PRO
 'she is just now finishing her work' (in answer to 'what is she doing?')
- (54) *ta ké dayri mgbay ni na*
 3F PROG arrive just now now I.PRO
 'she is just now arriving' (in answer to 'where is she right now?')

The progressive aspect differs from the perfective aspect in that a clause marked for progressive aspect may refer to an uncompleted or ongoing event prior to the time of speech:

- (55) *ta ké di fún bay ta ké gi tsof rùm lúmò*
 3F PROG make food CONJ 3F PROG sell 3M.POSS market
 'she was making food and she was selling it at the market'

Cf. the perfective aspect, which codes completion of the event before the time of speech:

- (56) *ta di fún bay ta gi tsof rum lúmò*
 3F make food CONJ 3F sell 3M.O market
 'she made food and sold it at the market'

The progressive aspect differs from the imperfective aspect in that the latter describes an event that is ongoing at the time of speech:

- (57) *ta wá di fún bay ta wá dà gi tsof rum lúmò*
 3F IMPF make food CONJ 3F IMPF go sell 3M.POSS market
 'she is making food (right now) and selling it at the market'

In some cases the same event can be described using either the perfective aspect or the progressive aspect, with a slight difference in meaning. In the following examples, use of the perfective aspect indicates that the event, whatever its duration, is completed, while use of the progressive focuses on the duration of the past event. This distinction is expressed in the English translations:

Perfective:

- (58) *vay bá(r) dùkrí kerker kə tʃiʔ-i*
 baby lie down night all the time ASSC cry-FV
 'the baby cried all night'

Progressive:

- (59) *vay ké bá(r) dùkrí kerker kə tʃiʔ-i*
 baby PROG lie down night all the time ASSC cry-FV
 'the baby was crying all night long'

Perfective:

- (60) *na tí kúm-ú*
 1SG go day before yesterday
 'I went the day before yesterday'

Progressive:

- (61) *na ké ti kúm-ú*
 1SG PROG go day before yesterday
 'I was going the day before yesterday'

As is often the case with markers of aspect, the specific aspectual or temporal function of *ké* may depend on surrounding discourse and/or knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer. The following example may thus have several interpretations:

- (62) *Gwà ké súk wə Mayo-Lope*
 G. PROG stay, live PREP M.-L.
 'Gwa lived/was living/used to live in Mayo-Lope' (in answer to a question or as a preface to a sequential clause)

Use of additional markers outside of the domains of tense and aspect may be used to narrow the meaning of the clause (English translations are approximate):

- (63) *Gwà ké súk wə Mayo-Lope si*
 G. PROG stay, live PREP M.-L. ASSERT
 'Gwa lived/was living in Mayo-Lope'

or

- (64) *Gwà ké suk wə Mayo-Lope riʔ-i*
 G. PROG live, stay PREP M.-L. already-FV
 'Gwa used to live in Mayo-Lope'

In many cases the clause marked for progressive aspect provides information necessary for the proper understanding of the clause that follows, as in the next example:

- (65) *ta ké báy kum àmá tám ta tsú báy zaʔ mi*
 3F PROG pretty yesterday but today 3F NEG pretty still NEG
 'she used to be pretty, but she isn't pretty anymore' (note the use of *kum* 'yesterday' in broad reference to the past)

The progressive aspect in Pévé can be used in an independent clause whose proper interpretation depends on the clause that preceded it in conversation. For example, the progressive may be used in a response to a content question, whose inherent function is to seek more information about a given situation. The clause marked for progressive aspect provides that information:

- (66) *na ké in dàn kə rù*
 1SG PROG speak word ASSC 2M.POSS
 'I was talking to you' (in answer to 'what were you doing?')

3.4 *Unmarked Aspect*

3.4.1 Form

The unmarked aspect is characterized by underlying tone on the verb and the absence of a non-verbal tense or aspect marker. The unmarked aspect is found in both independent clauses and dependent clauses:

- (67) *na wàʔ ʔyá (ye)*
 1SG want leave PERM
 'I want to leave'
- (68) *na tsú bə təw dā mi*
 1SG NEG like meat dog NEG
 'I don't like dog meat'

- (69) *mum tʃiːvun rùm-u syemɔ̃ ùm dɛ ma su*
 3M ask 3M.POSS-FV name 3M.POSS call how Q
 'He asked him, "What do they call him?"'

The unmarked aspect is the form used in subjunctive clauses, as marked by a subject pronoun from the subjunctive set (see chapter 6):

- (70) *à láʔá fãmbə tám-a*
ha láʔ á fãmbə tám-a
 2M say 1SG.SBJV repeat come today-FV
 'you said I should come here again today'

- (71) *à pum nùm ye*
 2M.SBJV hit 3M.O PERM
 'hit him!' or 'you can hit him!' ('can' is used here in the permissive sense)

The imperfective aspect marker *wá* can be optional in a clause referring to an unbounded event. Since the verb following the imperfective marker has its underlying tone, deleting *wá* results in a clause in the unmarked tense/aspect, raising the question of whether there really is an unmarked tense/aspect:

- (72) *May (wá) dī fún bay Gwà (wá) gi tsof rum lúmò*
 M. IMPF cook food CONJ G. IMPF sell 3M.POSS market
 'May cooks food and Gwa sells it at the market'

The evidence that there is an unmarked aspectual form that is distinct from the imperfective or any other aspect is provided by the fact that there are indicative clauses in which neither the perfective high tone nor an overt tense/aspect marker, including *wá*, can be used. This is true of the subjunctive clause below:

- (73) *mum *wá/*dà gewa mbà səday? dáy?*
 3M IMPF/FUT return come day after tomorrow day after
 for 'he should come back in three days'

In the following example, the verb *dā* is not marked for tense or aspect and can occur only in its underlying form. Reference to the future is provided solely by the temporal adverbial *síw*:

- (74) *à dā/*dā nan síw-i*
 2M.SBJV call 1SG.O tomorrow-FV
 'call me tomorrow'

Similarly with the verb *mbà* ‘come’, which retains its underlying low tone even in reference to the future:

- (75) *Taú lá? mum mbà siw-i*
 T. say 3M come tomorrow-FV
 ‘Tau said he will come tomorrow’

In the main clause of the following example neither *wá* (IMPF) or *dà* (FUT) can be used before the verb ‘to say’. The use of the non-perfective pronoun *ùm* to indicate the addressee rules out the perfective interpretation, leaving the unmarked aspect as the only possible meaning:

- (76) *lum gwà? *wá/*dà ùm in ne na à kar ri?*
 lion then IMPF/FUT 3M.O say ADP I.PRO 2M.SBJV look already
mbà tí rì?i
 come PROX.F already
 for ‘Lion then says to him, “Look here!”’

Compare with the perfective form, where the addressee is marked by *nùm*, not *ùm*, and the adposition *ne* precedes the addressee. The future marker is omitted in the complement clause, leaving only the choice of pronoun (*màn*, the non-perfective 1SG object) and the constituent order SOV as markers of the non-perfective aspect:

- (77) *mum lé? né nəm ha lambə sí ha man yè*
mum lá? ne nùm ha lá? mbà si ha màn yè
 3M say ADP 3M.O 2M COND come ASSERT 2M 1SG.O know
si
si
 ASSERT
 ‘He told him, “If you come here, you will know me.”’

3.4.2 Function

The interpretation of the unmarked aspect depends on context. When there is no adverbial or other marker indicating the temporal structure of the event, the unmarked aspect may be interpreted as pertaining to the time of speech, as is the case with the form *wa?* ‘want’ in the following:

- (78) *na wadà ʔin dān wa dān varì rəkway mənə na*
na wàʔ dan in dan wá dan varì rəkway mənì na
 1SG want PURP tell about trip ('road stranger') when 1SG
gí wǎy mbò Marou kə Garouà fətà vendredií
gí wǎy mbok Maroua kə Garoua fəta Friday
 make last time between M. ASSC G. day Friday
mōy ʒenà
mə(nasal) wǎy ʒé na
 REL last time pass I.PRO
 'I want to tell the story about my most recent trip from Maroua to Garoua last Friday.'

The unmarked aspect may also indicate a habitual or unbounded event. Use of a temporal adverbial may narrow the scope of the unmarked aspect:

- (79) *tá gi tsof súm (fətà lúmò)*
 3F sell beer day market
 'she sells beer (on the day of the market)'

The unmarked aspect may describe an unbounded state that obtains at the time of speech:

- (80) *Gwà toŋ pã May si*
 G. large exceed M. ASSERT
 'Gwa is bigger than May'

The unmarked aspect may also describe an unbounded state that obtained prior to the time of speech:

- (81) *mota? dǎw tsugàk tsùwal mi*
mòta? (borr.) dǎw tsú gàk tsùwal mi
 car (Ful.) one NEG can cross NEG
 'Not one car could cross it.' (before the time of speech)

The constituent order in the unmarked tense/aspect is the same as that of a clause in any other non-perfective aspect (see chapter 6). In the next example, the order SVOIO *ne*, along with the choice of pronoun from the non-perfective set, makes it clear that the clause is non-perfective, even though there is no overt tense/aspect marker:

- (82) *mum ta? kwá màn ne gwa*
 3M teach thing 1SG.O ADP now
 'he is teaching me right now'

Cf. the perfective form, with high tone on the verb:

- (83) *mum tá? kwá ne nà*
 3M show thing ADP 1SG.O
 'he taught/showed me something'

The unmarked tense/aspect can refer to a habitual action that did take place or did not take place:

- (84) *handà y dām só bá y-à*
 3PL build house good-FV
 'they build houses well' ('their house-building is good')

- (85) *mum tsú sá tsof man ne kpe mi*
 3M NEG 3F.O buy 1SG.O ADP never NEG
 'he never buys mine ('what is mine)'

The imperfective form cannot be used to describe an irrealis event:

- (86) *mum *wá tsú sá tsof man ne kpe mi*
 3M IMPF NEG 3F.O buy 1SG.O ADP never NEG
 for 'he never buys mine'

In the subjunctive clause the unmarked aspect may refer to a bounded event (recall that the form of the subject pronoun is often the sole means of marking the clause as subjunctive):

- (87) *ì mbà ni rí?-i*
 2M.SBJV come PROX already-FV
 'come here!' (ì: formal 2M.SBJV)

- (88) *à tsof mbraw ne nà n dǎw mi*
 2M.SBJV buy clothing ADP 1SG.O one NEG
 'do not buy me any clothing' (à: informal 2M.SBJV)

4 Conclusion

The indicative clause distinguishes the future tense, marked by the preverbal marker *dâ*; the perfective aspect, marked by relative high tone on the verb; the imperfective aspect, marked by the preverbal marker *wá*; the progressive aspect, marked by the preverbal marker *ké*; and the unmarked aspect, characterized by underlying tone on the verb and the absence of any other external markers. Only the unmarked aspect is attested in the subjunctive clause.

The perfective aspect describes a singulative event that was or will be completed, while the imperfective describes a state or event ongoing at the time of speech or some other specified time. The progressive aspect marks a clause as essential to understanding the material that follows the marked clause or as a response to a preceding question. The interpretation of the unmarked aspect depends on context and the nature of the event. In the indicative clause, the unmarked aspect may refer to ongoing, repeated, habitual or unbounded event; in the subjunctive clause, the unmarked aspect may also refer to a bounded or singulative event.

Mood and Modality

1 Introduction

This chapter describes forms and functions in the domains of deontic and epistemic modality in Pévé. In most grammatical descriptions, deontic modality is taken to include the imperative mood, typically described as commands to the second person, and the subjunctive mood, typically described as expressing desire, possibility, obligation, and other irrealis propositions. Unlike many languages, Pévé does not make a formal distinction between the imperative mood and the subjunctive mood. Coding means such as the presence or absence of an overt subject marker and the use of a dedicated set of subject pronouns differentiate subjunctive clauses from indicative clauses in Pévé but do not differentiate commands from other functions in the deontic mood. For simplicity, the term ‘subjunctive (mood)’ is used to refer to commands to the second person as well as clauses expressing permission, obligation, expectation, etc. with respect to any person, from the speaker’s perspective.

Means of coding the subjunctive mood include the choice of subject pronoun, the absence of an overt subject, and the use of object pronouns from the perfective/subjunctive set. Subcategories within the subjunctive, such as permission, obligation, and others, are marked by clause-final or clause-initial particles (see below). The verb in the subjunctive mood is unmarked in that it carries its underlying tone and is not preceded by a tense or aspect marker.

The primary difference between epistemic modality and the subjunctive mood, as described in this chapter, is that pronouns used in the epistemic modality are from the indicative set, not the subjunctive set, and that markers of epistemic modality may co-occur with various markers of tense or aspect. The subjunctive mood, in contrast, uses only pronouns from the subjunctive set (chapter 6) and can co-occur only with the unmarked tense/aspect. The present chapter begins with a description of the subjunctive mood and a number of subdomains within the subjunctive mood, functions of which include the speaker’s prohibition of an event, the speaker’s statement of obligation concerning an event, and the speaker’s statement of permission concerning an event. The latter part of the chapter describes two subdomains within the epistemic mood, referred to tentatively as ‘promise mood’ and ‘assertive mood’. The promise mood, as used in the present work, conveys the speaker’s certainty that a future event will take place. The assertive mood, as used in this work, conveys

the speaker's desire that the hearer believe that a given event or state did occur, is occurring or will occur (see Palmer 2001 for discussion of the assertive function). The function of the assertive marker in Pévé, marked by the clause-final morpheme *si* (glossed 'ASSERT'), resembles the function of certain markers in other languages, such as *lè* in Giziga (Shay 2012, ms.), *za* in Mina (Frajzyngier and Johnston with Edwards 2005), and *náx* in Kapsiki (Smith 1969). Whether the function of *si* in Pévé directly corresponds with the functions of markers in other languages remains an open question. Other subdomains within the domain of epistemic modality are described separately in chapter 18 (conditional and temporal constructions) and chapter 19 (complementation).

2 Subjunctive Mood

In nearly all elicited and natural discourse examples in Pévé, a clause in the subjunctive mood has a clause-initial or clause-final particle that conveys some degree of urgency, obligation, or politeness from the speaker's perspective. The attested particles are *ri?*, *ye*, *gwa*, and *say*, whose forms and functions are described in sections below.

Unlike in some languages, the presence or absence of an overt subject marker is not tied to any particular subdomain within the deontic mood. Clauses with and without an overt subject are attested with all of the particles coding various degrees of obligation or permission, as described in later sections.

2.1 *Argument Coding in the Subjunctive*

It is shown in chapter 6 that subject pronouns used in the subjunctive mood form a set distinct from those used in the indicative mood. It is also shown that direct and indirect object pronouns used in the perfective aspect or the subjunctive mood form a set distinct from object pronouns used in all other aspects, tenses, and moods. A chart of the various pronoun sets is repeated below for convenience (Table 12).

2.1.1 Subject

In a clause with an overt subject pronoun, the form of the pronoun marks the distinction between the subjunctive mood and the indicative (also called non-subjunctive) mood (see chapter 6):

- (1) *nə* *mbə* *ye*
 3M.SBJV return G.
 'he should return'

TABLE 12 Pronouns used in subjunctive clauses vs. indicative clauses

		Subject pronouns		Object/indirect object pronouns		
		Indicative	Subjunctive		Perfective/subjunctive	Non-perfective
			Informal	Formal		
1SG	<i>na</i>		<i>á</i>		<i>nàn</i>	<i>màn</i>
2M	<i>ha</i>		<i>à</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>nù</i>	<i>wũ</i>
2F	<i>hý, háy</i>		<i>ỳ, ày</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>này</i>	<i>mày</i>
3M	<i>mum</i>		<i>nə</i>		<i>nùm</i>	<i>ùm</i>
3F	<i>ta</i>		<i>tə</i>		<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>
1PL	<i>nambà</i>		<i>má</i>		<i>mbà</i>	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>hí</i>		<i>ì ... (ní)</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>nì</i>	<i>mì</i>
3PL	<i>handày</i>		<i>mə</i>		<i>ndày</i>	<i>ndày</i>

Cf. use of the indicative subject pronoun with the same verb:

- (2) a. *mum mbə Garoua*
3M return G.
'he returns from Garoua' (unmarked aspect)
- b. *mum mbá Garoua*
3M return G.
'he returned from Garoua' (perfective aspect)
- c. *mum də mbá Garoua*
3M FUT return G.
'he will return from Garoua' (future tense)

Another example of the informal subjunctive subject pronoun:

- (3) *à kar sowă mə này? kun-a*
2M.SBJV look people REL DIST.M DED.PL-FV
'look at those people over there!'

Cf. the indicative subject:

- (4) *ha wé kwa tí kətaʔ-a*
 2M see thing PROX.F now-FV
 'you saw something that is here'

As shown in chapter 6, the addressee in a formal or polite command is marked by the subject pronoun *ì*. There is no distinction among masculine, feminine or plural addressees:

- (5) *ì mbə riʔ-i*
 2nd.PERS come already-FV
 'come here!' (masculine, feminine or plural addressee)

Cf. the informal command:

- (6) *à/əŋ/ì ... (ni) mbə riʔ-i*
 2M/2F/2PL come already-FV
 'come here!'

In consecutive commands with the same addressee, one clause may have an overt subject and the other may not. This provides further evidence that the presence or absence of the subject is not the means of coding the imperative:

- (7) *kar riʔ à tsar fray riʔ-i*
 look already 2M.SBJV get up already-FV
 'look, you'd better get up!'

In a simple clause with a second-person singular or plural addressee, the subject of the subjunctive clause may or may not be overtly marked. Clauses with or without the second-person pronoun appear to have the same function and do not distinguish between the formal command and the informal command (the function of the final particle *riʔ* is discussed in section 2.2 below):

- (8) *kar ni riʔ-i*
 look SBJV.PL already
 'look at this!'

or

- (9) *ì kar ni riʔ-i*
 2PL.SBJV look 2PL.O already
 'look at this!' (formal command)

- (10) *zye mbà ye*
 enter come PERM
 'come on in!' (*zye mbà* is a serial verb construction; see chapter 10)

or

- (11) *à zye mbà ye*
 2M.SBJV enter come PERM
 'come on in!' (informal command)

The subjunctive subject pronoun can be used even if the addressee is also represented by a noun or noun phrase:

- (12) *dàw kuni ì mbà yé*
 child PL 2PL.SBJV come PERM
 'you kids, you come over here!'

The addressee can also be represented by an indicative subject pronoun preceding the subjunctive subject pronoun (note also the use of the coreferential object pronoun referring to the addressee):

- (13) *hí ì mbà ni ti riʔ-i*
 2PL 2PL.SBJV come 2PL.O PROX already-FV
 'you! you come here!' (cf. '(you) get yourself over here' in English)

The lack or presence of an overtly marked addressee thus does not distinguish between a command (typically ascribed to the imperative mood) and a wish, suggestion, possibility, etc. (typically ascribed to the subjunctive mood). Although some clause-final particles imply obligation or urgency (see section 2), there is no dedicated particle that codes the imperative mood. The evidence for this is that all of the particles that occur in commands addressed to the second person also occur with subjects other than the second person, which are by definition non-imperative.

2.1.2 Direct and Indirect Object

Direct and indirect object pronouns used in a subjunctive clause are from the perfective object pronoun set (see section 1, above, and also chapter 6):

- (14) à *pum nùm ye*
 2M.SBJV hit 3M.O PERM
 'hit him!'

- (15) à *ne nàñ rí?-i*
 2M.SBJV give 1SG.O already-FV
 'you should/may give it to me' (request, permission)

Cf. the same pronouns in the indicative perfective clause:

- (16) *swə púm nùm-u*
 man/person hit 3M.O-FV
 'someone hit him'

- (17) *mum ne nùm ne nàñ-a*
 3M give 3M.O ADP 1SG.O-FV
 'he gave it to me'

The verb of the subjunctive clause may be followed by an object pronoun from the perfective-subjunctive object set that reflects the person and number of the addressee, resulting in dual reference to the subject. Use of a coreferential object pronoun in a subjunctive construction involving only one entity, the addressee, conveys the speaker's belief that the addressee will be indirectly affected by the command or wish expressed by the speaker. This function is similar to that of 'self' in English constructions such as 'get yourself over here!' or 'have yourself a sandwich!':

- (18) ì *mbà ñi ti rí?-i*
 2PL.SBJV come 2PL PROX already-FV
 'come here!'

- (19) à *ta nu ye*
 2M.SBJV go 2M.O PERM
 'go!'

In some instances the object pronoun from the perfective-subjunctive object set is the only means of indicating the person and number of the referent:

- (20) *mbà ni riʔ-i*
 come 2PL already-FV
 'come (PL)!'

 (21) *ta nu ye*
 go 2M.SBJV PERM
 'go!' (PERM: permission)

 (22) *ti əŋ riʔ-i*
 eat 2F already-FV
 'eat!'

2.2 *Clause-Final Particles in the Subjunctive Mood*

In nearly all elicited and natural discourse examples, a clause in the subjunctive mood has a clause-initial or clause-final particle that conveys urgency, obligation, permission, or politeness from the speaker's perspective. The attested particles include *riʔ*, *ye*, *say*, and *m̀*, whose forms and functions are described in the following sections. English translations are not word for word but are intended to capture the different functions of the particles.

2.2.1 Addressee's Obligation: *riʔ*

The clause-final particle *riʔ*, when used in the subjunctive mood, conveys obligation or urgency on the part of the addressee. For reasons discussed below, the particle is glossed as 'already':

- (23) *ì mbà riʔ-i*
 2PL come already-FV
 'come here!' (used in an emergency, when the speaker needs help)

 (24) *à ne nà̀n riʔ-i*
 2M.SBJV give 1SG.O already-FV
 'give [it] to me'/'you must give [it] to me!'

 (25) *à kar riʔ bay*
 2M.SBJV look already friend
 "Look, friend!" ('you must look!')

Compare a clause with the particle *ye*, glossed ‘PERM’ for ‘permission’, which conveys a suggestion or a granting of permission (recall that *i* is the more formal version of the 2M subjunctive pronoun):

- (26) *i mbà ye*
 2M.SBJV come PERM
 ‘come on over!’ or ‘you may come over’

Use of the particle *ri?* is not limited to the subjunctive mood. When used in the indicative mood, the particle *ri?* marks an event as having been completed in the unspecified past. The evidence that *ri?* is not an aspectual marker is that it can be used with other markers of aspect. In the next example, where high tone on the verb marks the perfective aspect, the particle *ri?* is necessary to show that the event of the first clause was completed prior to the event of the second clause. The assertive marker *si* (see section 3.2, below) is optional:

- (27) *mum ndé fyèn (si) ri? bay mum ti kwá bo*
 3M fall sleep ASSERT already CONJ 3M eat thing PROM
 ‘he slept first (‘already’), and then he ate’

In the next example, which is marked for progressive aspect, *ri?* indicates that the event was completed at some point in the past:

- (28) *Gwà ké suk wə Mayo-Lope ri?-i*
 G. PROG stay PREP M.-L. already-FV
 ‘Gwa used to live in Mayo-Lope’

The use of the particle *ri?* in both indicative clauses and commands addressed to the second person resembles functions of the adverb ‘already’ in English, as in the indicative ‘he left already’ and the imperative ‘leave already!’ Similar functions are posited for French *déjà* and Italian *già* in Hansen and Strudsholm 2008.

2.2.2 Speaker’s Obligation: *sáy?*

The clause-initial particle *sáy?* codes the speaker’s sense of his or her own obligation. The first-person subject can be represented by a pronoun from the indicative or the subjunctive set:

- (29) *sáy? á tà*
 OBLIG 1SG.SBJV walk
 'I should walk'

- (30) *mum là? dà mbà katá? si sáy? na gúlá? tú*
 3M COND FUT come now REL OBLIG 1SG ready body
rìn-i
 1SG.POSS-FV
 'if he comes, I must be ready'

A second-person command with a negative consequence for the hearer may be followed by the clause-final particle *ri?*:

- (31) *à mbà ri?-i*
 2M.SBJV come already-FV
 'come here (so I can punish you)!' (cf. 'get over here already!' in English)

2.2.3 Permission: *ye*

The particle *ye*, like the particle *ri?*, occurs only in phrase-final position. The two particles cannot co-occur in the same clause. The particle *ye* is glossed 'PERM' for 'permission'. With a second-person subject, *ye* conveys the speaker's permission to perform an act and can also be interpreted as a polite or formal command:

- (32) *à zye ye*
 2M.SBJV enter PERM
 'go on in/it's okay to go in!'

- (33) *à pum nùm ye*
 2M.SBJV hit 3M.O PERM
 'hit him!' or 'you may hit him'

- (34) *à ve ye*
 2M.SBJV take PERM
 'take [it]/go ahead and take [it]!'

- (35) *pum ye*
 hit PERM
 '(you) could hit him'

Compare with the marker *riʔ*, which conveys obligation but not permission:

- (36) *pum riʔ-i*
hit already-FV
'hit him first!'
- (37) *pum nùm riʔ-i bay kaw nùm bo*
hit 3M.O already-FV CONJ catch 3M.O PROM
'hit him and then catch him!'

Clauses ending in *ye* are not limited to the second-person addressee. Use of *ye* with a first-person plural subject indicates the speaker's suggestion or the speaker's desire, both of which imply the speaker's sense of permission:

- (38) *má tà ye*
1PL go PERM
'let's walk'

In a clause with a third-person subject, the marker *yé* conveys the speaker's permission, wishes or suggestions with respect to the subject:

- (39) *nà mbà yé*
3M come PERM
'may he come/let him come'
- (40) *nà/tà ʔyá yé*
3M/3F leave PERM
'he/she should leave'

The marker *ye* can occur in an interrogative clause, where it marks a request for permission or a question about obligation. Note the use of the subjunctive subject pronoun as well:

- (41) *á te dǎrwa ye su*
1SG.SBJV take book PERM Q
'may I borrow this (book)?'
- (42) *á tà ye su*
1SG.SBJV walk PERM Q
'may I walk?' or 'should I walk?'

The marker *ye* is also attested in the non-subjunctive complement of the verb *wàʔ* ‘to want’ (see chapter 19 for complements of volitional verbs):

- (43) *na wàʔ ʔyá ye*
 1SG want leave PERM
 ‘I would like to leave’

2.2.4 Prohibitive: *mì*

A prohibitive clause, the negative counterpart of the imperative or subjunctive clause, is marked by the clause-final negative marker *mì*. While most indicative negative clauses involve two negative markers, the clause-final *mì* and the clause-internal negative *tsú* (see chapter 14), the prohibitive clause does not involve the clause-internal marker *tsú*. Pronouns used in the prohibitive clause are from the same set as those used in the subjunctive or imperative clause (see Table 12, above):

- (44) *à dà han mì*
 2M.SBJV go there NEG
 ‘don’t go there!’
- (45) *à tsoʔ mbraw ne nàɴ dǎw mì*
 2M.SBJV buy clothing give 1SG.O one NEG
 ‘don’t buy me any clothing’
- (46) *nə ʔyá mì*
 3M leave NEG
 ‘may he not leave/don’t let him leave’

The markers *ye* (permission), *riʔ* (obligation) or *sáyʔ* (speaker’s obligation) cannot be used in the prohibitive clause. This provides evidence that permission, obligation, and prohibition are all subdomains within the domain of the subjunctive mood:

- (47) *à tsoʔ mbraw ne nàɴ dǎw mì *ye/*riʔ/*sáyʔ*
 2M.SBJV buy clothing give 1SG.O one NEG PERM/OBLIG
 for ‘don’t buy me any clothing’

3 Epistemic Mood

Markers of the subjunctive mood and its subdomains contrast with markers of the epistemic mood, which pertain to the speaker's degree of belief in the truth or likelihood of an event. The speaker's attitude toward the truth of a statement or the likelihood of a state or event can be expressed by a number of means, including verbs of saying, verbs of volition, verbs of cognition, and conditional constructions, all of which are discussed in other chapters. The discussion here is limited to the clause-final particle *bo*, which codes the speaker's reassurance or promise that an event will occur (promise mood), and the clause-final particle *si*, which advises the hearer to believe in the occurrence of a past, current or future event or state (assertive mood). The evidence that *bo* and *si* are both markers of mood is that they cannot co-occur with each other or with any other markers of mood. The evidence that *bo* and *si* belong to a modal domain distinct from that of the subjunctive mood is that all attested clauses with *bo* or *si* involve subjects from the indicative set, not the subjunctive set.

3.1 *Speaker's Promise: bo*

The particle *bo*, glossed 'PROM' for 'promise', has the same distribution as the particles *ye* and *ri?*, discussed above: It occurs in clause-final position and cannot occur in the same clause with another marker of mood.

The marker *bo* in a clause marked for the future tense codes the speaker's promise that the event will occur. With a first-person subject, the marker *bo* indicates a promise on the part of the speaker:

- (48) *na dà tsoḅ ʒyè wũ ne bo*
 1SG FUT buy peanuts 2M.O ADP PROM
 'I will certainly buy you some peanuts.'

The sentence is complete without *bo* but does not convey the same degree of certainty:

- (49) *na dà tsoḅ ʒyè wũ ne*
 1SG FUT buy peanuts 2M.O ADP
 'I will buy you some peanuts'

The fact that the particle *bo* can be used in conjunction with the future tense to code the speaker's hope or promise with respect to a future event suggests that the future tense form alone does not convey the speaker's belief that the

event will take place. Evidence that *bo* codes certainty regarding a future event is that the future tense marker *dà* can be omitted if *bo* is present:

- (50) *na tsoḅ ʒyè wũ ne bo*
 1SG buy peanuts 2M.O ADP PROM
 'I (will) definitely buy you some peanuts'

In a simple clause with a non-first person subject, *bo* conveys the speaker's hope or belief that the event will occur:

- (51) *mum (dà) màn ne sàlay bo*
 3M FUT 1SG.O ADP money PROM
 'I hope/believe he (will) give me the money'

Use of the particle *bo* in a negative clause indicates that the event has not yet occurred, though the speaker believes that it will occur:

- (52) *mum tsu màn ne sàlay bo*
 3M NEG 1SG.O ADP money PROM
 'he has not yet given me the money (but he will)'

The particle *bo* occurs in the proper name *koi suk bo* 'Koi will survive' ('Koi live PROM') and in the following exchange of salutations:

Greeting:

- (53) *heḅ su*
 peace Q
 'hello' ('at peace')

Response:

- (54) *heḅ bo*
 peace PROM
 'hello' ('peace is promised')

3.2 Assertive Marker *si*

The assertive marker *si* occurs very frequently in natural discourse, folktales, and elicited examples. The following sections describe the form, distribution, and function of the marker.

3.2.1 Distribution of the Marker *si*

The marker *si*, analyzed here as the marker of assertive mood, can occur in several positions: clause- or sentence-final position; the position immediately before the clause-final interrogative marker *su*; or the position immediately before a sentence-final adjunct. The implications of these possibilities are described later in the chapter. Here are examples involving the marker *si*:

Clause-final:

- (55) *ndʒm màn ʒé si*
 ndʒin màn ʒé si
 story 1SG.POSS start ASSERT
 ‘My story starts right now.’

Before the interrogative marker:

- (56) *ha wé si su*
 2M know ASSERT Q
 ‘did you know (that)?’/‘did you see (that)?’

The assertive marker can also be used in a question that is marked for future tense. This provides evidence that the assertive marker does not code a function in the domain of tense (see chapter 8):

- (57) *nambà dā ndewa ʃiŋw si su*
 1PL FUT meet (lit. ‘fall head’) tomorrow ASSERT Q
 ‘will we see each other tomorrow?’

The marker *si* also occurs at the end of all recorded conditional protasis clauses:

- (58) *laʔ hi wá dā lumo si i dʒi wa*
 COND 2PL IMPF go market ASSERT 2PL.SBJV wait head
 rìn-i
 1SG.POSS-F
 ‘if you go to the market, wait for me’

The assertive marker *si* can also occur at the end of the apodosis clause, i.e., at the end of the complex sentence:

- (59) *la?* *mum wá sà pum si* *tə* *ʔya si*
 COND 3M IMPF 3F.O hit ASSERT 3F.SBJV leave ASSERT
 ‘if he is hitting her, she should leave’

The marker *si* follows some, but not all, temporal protasis clauses (see also chapter 18):

- (60) *kəri mənɪ handəy gí sin ndəy ndó? wə ʃinə si*
 when 3PL do work 3PL.POSS finish PREP field ASSERT
handəy géwa tá só ndəy-a
 3PL return DIR house 3PL.POSS
 ‘when they finished their work in the field, they went back home’

Cf. the temporal protasis without *si*:

- (61) *kəri mənɪ ta gé ndó? sin sá ta pemāy(-a)*
 when 3F finish work 3F.POSS 3F rest(-FV)
 ‘when she finished her work, she rested’

The evidence that *si* does not mark the boundary between the protasis and the apodosis is that *si* in the protasis clause can be followed by an adverbial adjunct that modifies the preceding clause:

- (62) *kəri mənɪ mum là? ʔwáy gáy? sɪ **dáŋ?** mum par vay*
 when 3M COND win game ASSERT all 3M remove child
gay? dǎw-a
 game one
 ‘Each time he won the game, he took out a playing piece (*vay gay?*).’

- (63) *mum ti tɛw um si tʃɛt-ɛ*
 3M eat meat 3M.POSS ASSERT all-FV
 ‘he ate all his meat’

Moreover, in the temporal construction the protasis clause (bolded in the following example) does not have to end in *si*:

- (64) *dayna dükri mà tám (pause) handəy dà tsòb ndá màn*
 after night REL today 3PL FUT buy horse 1SG.POSS
nə si
 3M.DED ASSERT
 ‘after tonight, they will buy my (male) horse’

3.2.2 Function of the Marker *si*

The marker *si* indicates that the speaker wants the hearer to believe in the truth or actuality of the event or state described by the clause that precedes the marker *si*. The temporal status of the event or state may be the past, the time of speech, or the future. The evidence for the assertive function is provided by examining the circumstances in which *si* does and does not occur and contrasting the function of *si* with the functions of other morphemes and constructions.

The evidence that *si* codes a function in the domain of affirmative modality is that the marker cannot co-occur with the negative marker:

- (65) *mota?* *dāw tsugāk* *tsùwal mi* **si*
 mòta? (borr.) *dāw tsú* *gàk tsùwal mi* **si*
 car (Ful.) one NEG can cross NEG ASSERT
 ‘Not one car could cross it.’

The marker *si* also cannot be used in a content question that seeks additional information about the event:

- (66) *Taú tá ka* *tám kə* *bàkà* (**si*) *su*
 T. go where today ASSC morning ASSERT Q
 for ‘where did Tau go this morning?’

However, the marker *si* can be used in a polar question marked by the clause-final interrogative *su*. The result is a polar question seeking confirmation of the speaker’s assertion/belief that an event took place or will take place:

- (67) *Taú tá lúmò* *tám kə* *bàkà* *si* *su*
 T. go market today ASSC morning ASSERT Q
 ‘did Tau (really) go to the market this morning?’

The marker *si* cannot follow an incomplete clause:

- (68) *ma* *tĩvun rùm-u* **si* *ha mbó wà?* *mi* *su*
 woman ask 3M.POSS ASSERT 2M come want what Q
 for ‘the woman asked him, “Why did you come here?”’

The evidence that the clause is incomplete is that it cannot stand alone:

- (69) *ma tʃiːvun rùm-u *si*
 woman ask 3M.POSS ASSERT
 for 'the woman asked him'

Although *si* is often used in describing an event that took place in the past, it is not a marker of tense or aspect. There are several pieces of evidence for this. First, *si* can follow a clause marked for the future tense:

- (70) *hí dā ndewa síw si su*
 2PL FUT meet tomorrow ASSERT Q
 'will you (PL) see each other tomorrow?'

- (71) *dayna dükri mà tám (pause) ta dā ge ndo? sin sá*
 after night REL today 3F FUT throw finish work 3F.POSS
si
 ASSERT
 'after tonight, she will finish her work'

Second, *si* can follow a clause in the perfective aspect, marked by high tone on the verb, or a clause in the progressive aspect, marked by the aspect marker *ké*. If the marker *si* had a function in the domain of aspect, it would not co-occur with other aspect markers:

Perfective with *si*:

- (72) *ndžin man ndózu si*
ndžin man ndó? zù sì
 story 1SG.POSS finish bottom ASSERT
 'My story has ended.'

Progressive aspect with *si*:

- (73) *Gwà ke suk wə Mayo-Lope si*
 G. PROG stay PREP M.-L. ASSERT
 'Gwa used to live in Mayo-Lope'

Evidence that *si* does not code the completed or bounded nature of the event is that the marker *si* can follow a clause describing an ongoing state:

- (74) *Gwà toŋ pã May si*
 G. large exceed M. ASSERT
 'Gwa is bigger than May'
- (75) *tsoɓ rum (wà) ke báyrúm si*
 price 3M.POSS IMPF COP much ASSERT
 'its price may be high'

As previously noted, a conditional clause referring to a potential future event must be marked by *si*. The conditional protasis clause describes an event or state that may or may not occur in the future, which might seem contradictory to the notion of the assertive modality. In fact, this explains the obligatory use of *si* in the conditional protasis clause: The assertive marker advises the hearer to believe in the content of the protasis clause, without which the apodosis would have no validity (see chapter 18 for a description of conditional constructions):

- (76) *laʔ tsoɓ rum báyrúm si, i tsoɓ gaʔ ri məsin*
 COND buy 3M.POSS much ASSERT 2PL buy side place other
ye
 PERM
 'if its price is high, you can buy it somewhere else'
- (77) *ha laʔ waʔ fun si, a mbə ye*
 2M COND want boule ASSERT 2M.SBJV come PERM
 'if you want boule, come here!'
- (78) *May dík i ta gak gəbo mota kəzə si ama*
 M. believe COMP 3F be able drive car CF ASSERT but (Ar.)
ta gak mi
 3F be able NEG
 'May thought she could drive a car, but she couldn't'

Perhaps the strongest evidence for the function of the marker *si* is the following example, where *si* occurs at the end of a clause describing a potential event that did not actually occur. The presence of *si* advises the hearer to believe that the event could have occurred. The marker *kəzə*, glossed CF for 'counterfactual', indicates the speaker's knowledge that the event did not actually occur. The scope of the assertive mood is thus the speaker's wish for the hearer's belief, not the speaker's own belief or knowledge with respect to whether the event or state actually took place in the real world:

- (79) *na gàk ùm zà? kàzǎ si àmá na tsù zà? nùm mi*
 1SG can 3M.O find CF ASSERT but 1SG NEG find 3M.O NEG
 'I should have been able to find him, but I couldn't'

For further discussion of the counterfactual marker *kàzǎ*, see chapter 19.

4 Conclusion

Pévé has grammaticalized the subjunctive mood, which subsumes the subdomains of the imperative and the subjunctive as often described for other languages, and the epistemic mood, defined as the expression of the speaker's belief in the truth or likelihood of an event. The subjunctive mood is marked by the absence of a subject pronoun or use of a subject pronoun from the subjunctive set. Apart from intonation and context, there is no dedicated means of distinguishing a command to the second person from other functions within the subjunctive mood. The subjunctive mood is subdivided into several deontic modalities, including obligation, permission, and prohibition, all of which are marked by clause-final particles in clauses that are marked subjunctive by the choice of subject pronoun. Epistemic modality includes a number of subdomains, some of which are described in other chapters. Subdomains include the speaker's promise, marked by the clause-final particle *bo*, and the widely used assertive mood, marked by the clause-final particle *sí*, which conveys the speaker's desire that the hearer believe in the truth of a statement or in the actuality of an event or state. Both markers occur only in the indicative mood.

Locative Expressions and Locative Predications

1 Introduction

In the present work, the term ‘locative expression’ refers to a wide range of means for describing the presence of an entity, the occurrence of an event in a certain location, movement of an entity towards or away from a location, movement over or under an entity, etc. The term ‘locative predication’ used here has a narrower meaning, as stated in Frajzyngier 2018 (cf. also Corum 2013, Améka and Levinson 2007, and other works on non-Chadic languages):

A locative predication is a grammaticalized coding of the existence of an element or event at some location or the movement of an element to or from some location. A language has a locative predication if the predication differs in at least one formal characteristic from all other types of predications that the language might have.

FRAJZYNGIER 2018: 207

It is likely that all languages have locative expressions. However, not all languages have grammaticalized the category of locative predication, which involves inherently locative predicates and inherently locative complements (see below). Locative predication as a grammatical function has been identified in a number of Chadic languages, including Hausa (West Chadic; Caron 2012), Lele (East Chadic; Frajzyngier 2001), and Hdi (Central Chadic; Frajzyngier with Shay 2002).

The present chapter shows that Pévé, like some Chadic languages of all branches, has grammaticalized the function of locative predication. The chapter provides evidence for the existence of locative predication in Pévé and describes the coding means used in locative predications and the functions they perform. The chapter also describes the semantic properties of various locative predicates, locative and directional prepositions, and serial verb constructions (SVCs) with locative functions.

2 Locative Predication in Pévé

A locative predication in Pévé consists minimally of a subject and a locative predicate. In a locative expression that involves an inherently locative predicate, no further marking is needed to indicate the locative function of the predicate:

- (1) *sa tá su*
 who go Q
 'who went (there)?'
- (2) *sa mbá su*
 who come Q
 'who came (here)?'
- (3) *mum wá da*
 3M IMPF go
 'he is going (to a place)'

If the predication involves a locative complement that is also inherently locative, no additional marking is necessary provided the complement immediately follows the predicate. Inherently locative nouns in Pévé include toponyms and the nouns *lúmò* 'market', *só* 'village, house', and *ri* 'place' (also 'time'):

- (4) *mum wá dà lúmò*
 3M IMPF go market
 'he is going to the market'
- (5) *nambà dà Pala*
 1PL go P.
 'we are going to Pala'
- (6) *na báriba ... baynàndéfyen*
na bá rì ba... bay na ndé fyèn-e
 1SG lie down bed CONJ 1SG fall sleep-FV
 'I lay down on the bed (lit. 'place to lie') and I slept.'

If the complement of an inherently locative predicate is not inherently locative, the complement must be marked by a locative preposition even if it immediately follows the verb. In the following example the complement *gú* 'tree' is not inherently locative, hence the preposition *zà* before *gú*:

- (7) *mum zá? ndày wá ti kwá zà gú*
 find 3PL.O IMPF eat thing under tree 3M
 'he found them eating under the tree'

Compare the same verb with the inherently locative complement 'earth, ground', where the complement immediately follows the verb and no preposition is used:

- (8) *i gáy? nyã ye*
 2PL sit ground PERM
 'please sit down'

An inherently locative complement following a predicate that is not inherently locative is also marked by a preposition, regardless of whether or not the complement immediately follows the verb. As previously stated, the noun *só* 'village, house' is inherently locative. After the non-locative predicate 'reach', the complement *só* must be marked by a locative preposition:

- (9) *namba tá dáy wásómǎde kǎsalák*
nambà tá dáy wə só mǎ dɛ kǎ
 1PL reach ('go arrive') PREP village REL call ASSC

salák
 Salák (Giz.)
 'We reached the village called Salák.'

If the predicate is not inherently locative, the complement must be marked by a locative preposition even if the complement itself is inherently locative. The noun *fine* 'field' is inherently locative but the predicate *ndó?* is not, hence the preposition *wə*:

- (10) *nday ndó? wə fine (sǐ)*
 3PL finish PREP field (ASSERT)
 'they finished (their work) in the field'

The compound verb *gi tsòb* is also not inherently locative, hence the preposition *wə* before the inherently locative noun *lúmò*:

- (11) *mum gí tsòb yá naw wə lúmò*
 3M do sell cow PREP market
 'he sold a cow at the market'

In a verbless noun phrase with an inherently locative complement, use of the preposition *wə* is optional:

- (12) *nday (wə) fine*
 3PL PREP field
 ‘they are in the field’

The preposition is not needed when both the verb and the complement are inherently locative:

- (13) *handày tá finè*
 3PL go field
 ‘they went to the field’

In summary, the locative predication in Pévè has the form Subject Predicate (Complement), without additional marking, provided the predicate and the complement are both inherently locative and the complement immediately follows the predicate. If either the predicate or the complement is not inherently locative, or if the complement (locative or non-locative) is separated from the predicate by other material, the locative nature of the predication is marked by the use of a locative preposition before the complement.

3 Semantic Functions of Inherently Locative Predicates

Inherently locative predicates can be broken down into two types: Predicates involving movement and predicates involving stative location. Both types of predications are described below

3.1 *Predications Involving Motion*

Lexical distinctions coded by inherently locative predicates include movement towards the place of speech or deictic center; movement towards a place that is not the place of speech; movement without an implied destination; departure from the deictic center; departure from another place; departure towards a goal; return to the place of origin; return to another place; entry into a place; and some changes in posture. This section provides evidence for the inherently locative nature of these predicates and the distinctions they encode.

The verb *mbə̀* ‘to come’ codes movement towards the place of speech or deictic center:

- (14) *rəkway tsar mbə Garoua*
 stranger get up come G.
 'the stranger came here from Garoua'
- (15) *na là? mbə sí na gà? əm za? si*
na là? mbə si na gək ùm zà? si
 1SG COND come ASSERT 1SG can 3M.O find ASSERT
 'If I came here, I could find him.'

Evidence for the locative function of *mbə* is that it can be immediately followed by a locative complement representing either the destination or the source of movement, depending on where the speaker is at the time:

- (16) *handəy mbə Lamé si*
 3PL come L. ASSERT
 'they came to Lamé' (spoken in Lamé)
- (17) *handəy mbə Lamé si*
 3PL come L. ASSERT
 'they came [here] from Lamé' (spoken outside of Lamé)

The verb *tà* 'to go, to walk' codes motion towards a destination that is not the place of speech but does not imply arrival at the destination:

- (18) *ta wə tà*
 3F IMPF walk
 'she is walking'

Like other inherently locative predicates, *tá* can be immediately followed by the locative complement:

- (19) *na tá Mora syem ráw si*
 1SG go M. time many ASSERT
 'I have been to Mora many times' (not spoken in Mora)

The verb *də* 'to go, to travel', identical with the future tense marker *də*, can serve alone as the main verb in a clause. The verb denotes motion from one place to another without indicating motion towards or away from the speaker. The locative complement is marked by juxtaposition:

- (20) à *dà han mì*
 2M.SBJV go there NEG
 'don't go there!'

- (21) *mum wá dà lúmò*
 3M IMPF go market
 'he is going to the market'

The verb *gewa*, a compound verb based on the verb *ge* 'to throw (something) at something' and the noun *wa* 'head', means 'to return to the place of origin':

- (22) *handày géwa Lamé si*
 3PL return L. ASSERT
 'they returned from Lamé' or 'they returned to Lamé' (spoken outside of Lamé)

The serial verb construction *gewa mbə* ('return come') indicates return to the place of speech:

- (23) *handày géwa mbə Lamé si*
 3PL return come L. ASSERT
 'they came back to Lamé' (spoken in Lamé)

Other locative predicates distinguish among departure from the deictic center towards a destination, departure from a place that is not the deictic center, and departure from the deictic center without implying a destination. The verb *ɣá* codes departure from the deictic center towards a destination:

- (24) à *ɣá ye*
 2M.SBJV leave PERM
 'you could depart' (for your destination)

Evidence that the verb denotes departure from the deictic center is that a complement denoting the place of speech may immediately follow *ɣá*, without additional marking. The form *tí* is a proximal deictic demonstrative referring to the place of speech (see chapter 12):

- (25) *nambà ɣá tí kə ndzike vaɬ mə riyà*
 1PL leave PROX ASSC iron five REL evening
 'We left (here) at five o'clock in the evening.'

- (26) *handày ín ne mbà mǎ ʔyá só sí*
 3PL say ADP 1PL.O 1PL.SBJV leave village ASSERT
 'they told us we should leave the village' (spoken in the village)

When the locative complement of the verb *ʔyá* 'leave' represents the destination rather than the point of departure, additional marking is required. In the next example, the spatial specifier *vari* 'road' before the locative complement 'Maroua' marks the complement as the destination:

- (27) *mum géwa Garoua bay mum ʔyá vari Maroua (sí)*
 3M return G. CONJ 3M leave road M. (ASSERT)
 'he returned from Garoua and he left for Maroua'

The verb *tsar* 'get up, arise, raise up' denotes departure from a place that is not the deictic center. The inherently locative complement immediately follows the verb:

- (28) *à tsar fray riʔ-i*
 2M.SBJV arise top, above (N) already-FV
 'get up!'

The verb *tsar* can be either intransitive or transitive without additional marking:

- (29) *na wàʔ i à tsar gáb vay màn*
 1SG want COMP 2M.SBJV heal ('raise up') illness child 1SG.POSS
 'I want you to heal my child'

The verb *pã* 'exit' denotes departure of a singular subject from the deictic center without implying a destination:

- (30) *à pã ye*
 2M.SBJV exit (SG) PERM
 'you'd better get out of here!'/ 'go away!'

The verb *zye* 'to enter' denotes entry into a place that is not the place of speech:

- (31) *à zye ye*
 2M.SBJV enter PERM
 'go on in!'

The verb *bà* (*bàr*, in some dialects) ‘to lie down’, ‘to spend time’, is inherently locative, as shown by the fact that the locative complement is unmarked:

- (32) *mum wá bàr só sá su*
 3M IMPF lie down house who Q
 ‘who does he live with?’

In short, inherently locative predicates in Pévé carry a wide range of locative and directional functions. As shown in the following sections, the scope of these functions may be narrowed by the use of serial verb constructions and locative prepositions.

3.2 *Stative Locative Predications*

A stative predication denotes the presence of an entity in a place or the occurrence of an event in a place. If the verb and the complement are both inherently locative, the complement is unmarked if it immediately follows the verb. The verb *suk* ‘to sit’, ‘to live (in)’, ‘to stay’, which can be used only with a singular subject, is inherently locative, as is *só* ‘village, house, home’:

- (33) *mum wá súk só wũ*
 3M IMPF stay house 2PL.POSS
 ‘he is staying at your house’

When the predicate in the stative predication is not inherently locative, the complement is marked by a preposition. As shown in section 3.1, the noun *vari* ‘road’ can serve as a spatial specifier without additional marking, provided the predicate is locative. The noun *vari* can also stand alone as a locative complement. In a stative construction with a non-locative predicate and *vari* as complement, *vari* must be marked by a preposition. The preposition *wa* is derived from the noun *wa* ‘head’ and corresponds with ‘on (top of)’:

- (34) *mum wé nàn wa vari*
 3M see 1SG.O PREP road, way
 ‘he saw me on the road’

A complement that refers to a human being is not inherently locative and so is marked by a preposition:

- (35) *mum tʃín vunduk rum wa ndzar rum-u*
 3M place (V) heart 3M.POSS PREP sister 3M-FV
 ‘he trusts his sister’

When the locative complement is in the form of a pronoun, the pronoun belongs to the set coding inalienable possession (see chapter 6):

- (36) *mum tʃín bá wa rìn-ì*
 3M place (V) hand PREP 1SG-FV
 'he placed his hand on me' (i.e., he blessed me)
- (37) *mum tʃín vunduk rum wa rìn-ì*
 3M place (V) heart 3M.POSS PREP 1SG-FV
 'he trusts me' (lit. 'places his heart on me')

The verb *gáy?*, also corresponding to 'to sit, to live (in), to stay', is used only with a plural subject. Again, the inherently locative complement can be unmarked when it immediately follows the verb:

- (38) *nambà gáy? só/Garoua*
 1PL sit home/G.
 'we stayed at home/we stayed in Garoua'

For reasons yet to be discovered, the preposition *wə*, corresponding to 'in' 'at' or 'to' (see section 5.1, below), is sometimes used in a stative predication with an inherently locative complement. Such predications include verbless locative predications and predications coding occurrence of an event in a place:

- (39) *Gwà ké suk (wə) Mayo-Lope (si)*
 G. PROG stay PREP M.-L. (ASSERT)
 'Gwa used to live in Mayo-Lope'
- (40) *mum (wə) Maroua*
 3M (PREP) M.
 'he is in Maroua'
- (41) *mum tsób kwá kə ya năw (wə) lúmò*
 3M buy thing ASSC cow PREP market
 'he bought a cow at the market'

4 Locative Serial Verb Constructions

Many locative predicates are serial verb constructions (SVCs) that involve two verbs, at least one of which is inherently locative. The inherently locative verb may follow or precede the non-locative verb, depending on the function of the utterance. The types of SVCs and the functions they encode are described in the following sections.

4.1 *Destination: Locative Predicate + mbà/tà*

Some serial verb constructions consist of the main verb followed by the inherently locative verb *mbà* ‘to come (to the deictic center)’ or *tà* ‘to go (to another place)’. Evidence that the sequence Verb+*mbà/tà* constitutes an SVC is that the two verbs share the same arguments and the same values for tense and aspect and that no other material may intervene between the two verbs.

The function of *mbà* or *tà* in the SVC is to indicate whether the goal or destination of the main verb is the deictic center, which includes the place of speech, or another location. SVCs in Pévè resemble those found in other Chadic and non-Chadic languages. The functions of *mbà* and *tà* in SVCs are also similar to the ventive and allative functions coded by verbal extensions found in some other languages.

The function of a given SVC is a product of the inherent meaning of the main (first) verb, the inherent meaning of the verb *mbà* or *tà*, and the meaning of the complement. As is the case in other Chadic languages, the use of serial verb constructions is motivated by constraints on the inherent meanings of the verbs involved. The fact that locative verbs in Pévè code a large number of relatively narrow functions is a likely motivation for the use of SVCs. Another motivation may be the fact that the inherent meaning of most locative verbs, with the exception of *mbà* and *tà*, does not include a goal or destination,

As shown above, the verb *gewa* has the meaning ‘return to the place of origin’. The presence of the verb *mbà* after the verb *gewa* indicates that the place of origin is the deictic center:

- (42) *mum géwa mbà Garoua si*
 3M return come G. ASSERT
 ‘he came back to Garoua’ (the speaker is in Garoua)

- (43) *mum géwa mbà sàday?*
 3M return two days later
 ‘he came back (here) two days later’

The serial verb construction *géwa tá* indicates that the subject returned to a place that is not the place of speech:

- (44) *kəri mənɪ handày gí sín ndày ndó? wə ʃinè si*
 when 3PL do work 3PL.POSS finish PREP field ASSERT
handày géwa tá só ndày-a
 3PL return walk, go house 3PL.POSS-FV
 ‘when they finished their work in the field, they went back to their house/
 home’

- (45) *mum géwa tá Garoua si*
 3M return walk, go G. ASSERT
 ‘he went back to Garoua’ (the speaker is not in Garoua)

The verb *ʒyá* denotes departure from the deictic center towards a destination but does not provide information about the destination. The verb *tà* after *ʒyá* indicates that the destination is somewhere other than the place of speech:

- (46) *handày ʒyá tá só ndày sí*
 3PL depart walk, go house 3PL.POSS ASSERT
 ‘they went back home’ (the speaker is not at home)

The verb *tsar* ‘to get up’ denotes departure from a place that is not the place of speech. The sequence *tsar mbà* codes departure from another place and movement towards the deictic center:

- (47) *rəkway tsár mbà ka su*
 stranger get up come where Q
 ‘where did the stranger come (here) from?’

Because the inherent goal of *mbà* is the deictic center, a locative complement after the SVC *tsar mbà* denotes the point of departure:

- (48) *Taú tsar mbà lúmò*
 T. get up come market
 ‘Tau left here for the market’ (not ‘Tau got up and came to the market’)

The verb *zye* ‘to enter’ denotes entry into a place. Adding the verb *mbà* indicates that the place to be entered is the place of speech:

- (49) à *zye mbà ye*
 2M.SBJV enter come PERM
 'come on in!'

4.2 *Altrilocality: dā/tà/mbà + Non-locative Predicate*

The function of altrilocality (Jungraithmayr 2003, Wolff 2006, Frajzyngier 2012, and others) is to indicate that the subject of an event was or will be in some other location prior to the event described by the main verb. Altrilocality can be coded in Pévé by a serial verb construction consisting of an inherently locative verb followed by a non-locative verb that functions as the main verb.

Locative verbs that can precede the main verb include *dā* 'to go, to travel' (no destination implied); *tà* 'to go/walk (to a place that is not the deictic center)'; and *mbà* 'to come (to the deictic center)'. The sequence *dā/tà/mbà*+Verb is considered a serial verb construction for the same reasons cited in the preceding section. Due to the inherently locative nature of the first verb in the SVC, the complement that follows the SVC is not marked by a preposition even if the complement itself is not inherently locative.

The verb *dā* 'to go' followed by the main verb indicates that the action described by the main verb involves movement but does not indicate the type or direction of movement:

- (50) à *dā kéb mbi ne mbà riʔ-í*
 2M.SBJV go fetch water ADP 1PL.O already-FV
 'go get us some water!'

In the next example, *dā* indicates that the event described by the compound verb *gi tsoʔ* 'sell' involves movement from one place to another. The complement *lúmò* is marked by a preposition because it is separated from the locative verb *dā* by the presence of the non-locative verb *gi tsoʔ* (note that *gi tsoʔ*, literally 'make buy', is itself a compound verb):

- (51) *tá dī fún bay tá dā gi tsoʔ rùm wə lúmò*
 3F cook food CONJ 3F go sell 3M.O PREP market
 'she cooks food and she goes and sells it at the market'

Compare *dā* alone with the same complement:

- (52) *ta dā lúmò*
 3F go market
 'she is going to the market' (the speaker may or may not be at the market)

Evidence that *dà* in the structure *dà*+Verb is a locative verb rather than the marker of future tense is that it can be preceded by another tense/aspect marker, in this case the imperfective aspect marker *wá*:

- (53) *ta wá dī fún bay ta wá dà gĩtsoḅ rum lúmò*
 3F IMPF cook food CONJ 3F IMPF go sell 3F.POSS market
 ‘she₁ is cooking food and she_{1,2} is going (now) to sell it at the market’

The verb *ta* before the main verb, as in the sequence *tá dáy* ‘go arrive’ below, denotes movement prior to arrival at the destination. In the following example, the inherently locative complement *só* ‘village’ is marked by a preposition because it is separated from the locative verb *ta* by the non-directional verb *day* ‘arrive’:

- (54) *kəri m̀̀ni nambà tá dáy ri wə só mə dē kə*
kəri m̀̀ni nambà tá dáy ri wə só mə dē kə
 when 1PL reach place PREP village REL call ASSC
salák nambà za? wé mbì mbá báyrúm
salák nambà za? wé mbì mbá báyrúm
 Salák (Giz.) 1PL find see water come much
 ‘When we got to the village of Salák, we found a lot of water flowing.’

The verb *tà* followed by the verb *rà?* ‘to gather’ indicates that the gathering involves movement away from the deictic center:

- (55) *Taú tá rá? nãw kuni si*
 T. walk, go gather bovine PL ASSERT
 ‘Tau went and rounded up cattle’

Cf. without *tà*, where there is no indication of where the gathering took place:

- (56) *Taú rá? nãw kuni si*
 T. gather bovine PL ASSERT
 ‘Tau rounded up cattle’

The verb *mbà* ‘to come’ followed by the main verb indicates that the event denoted by the main verb involved movement toward the deictic center:

- (57) *mum mbá zá? ndày wə cwə ʒyèè*
 3M come find 3PL.O IMPF munch peanuts
 ‘he came here and found them munching peanuts’

- (58) *tá mbá òl mbì*
 3F come fetch water
 'she came here to fetch water'

5 Spatial Prepositions and Specifiers

As shown above, a preposition may have the grammatical function of: (a) marking a non-locative predicate for the locative function, (b) marking a non-locative complement for the locative function, or (3) marking a locative complement that is separated from the predicate (locative or non-locative) by other material. Prepositions also code a wide variety of spatial relations pertaining to the position or movement of an entity with respect to another entity or location. Some of these functions are described in section 5.1.

The semantic function of coding spatial relations also involves spatial specifiers, i.e. denominal markers that may function alone as prepositions or that may follow a preposition in order to narrow the scope of the spatial relationship described in the clause. The chief difference between a spatial specifier and a preposition is that a spatial specifier can follow a preposition and precede the complement, resulting in the form V PREP Spatial specifier N, while the form V PREP PREP N is not attested (see section 5.2).

5.1 *Spatial and Locative Prepositions*

A widely used preposition in Pévé is the form *wə*, which may correspond with 'in', 'at', or 'to', depending on context:

- (59) *na wé nday wə shinè*
 1SG saw 3PL.O PREP field
 'I saw them in the field'

The preposition *wə* is optional when both the predicate and the complement are inherently locative and the complement immediately follows the predicate:

- (60) *na tá (wə) Garoua*
 1SG walk PREP G.
 'I went to Garoua'

- (61) *mum tsób kwá kə yá naw (wə) lúmò*
 3M buy thing ASSC cow at market
 'he bought a cow at the market'

The complement of the preposition *wá* may be a deictic demonstrative (see chapter 12), which by definition is inherently locative:

- (62) *handày bá ri m̀̀ni na tsá(r) wá han nà sí*
 3PL clean place REL 1SG originate PREP REM POST ASSERT
 ‘they cleaned the place that I came from’

The preposition *zà*, when followed by a noun or noun phrase, corresponds to ‘under’:

- (63) *mum zá? ndày wá ti kwá zà gú*
 3M find 3PL.O IMPF eat thing under tree
 ‘he found them eating under a tree’

- (64) *namba gáy? zà dap-a*
 1PL sit under shed
 ‘we are sitting under a shed’

- (65) *kwa wə zə mbi raw-a*
 thing IMPF under water many-FV
 ‘there are a lot of things under the water’

The preposition *zà* ‘under’ may also mark the entity on whose behalf something was done, as in the following:

- (66) *mum dām dàn tá zə rin(-i)*
 3M cry word go under 1PL.POSS-FV
 ‘he spoke (pleaded) for me’
- (67) *mum tá han zə ndzar rin-i*
 3M go there under sister 1PL.POSS-FV
 ‘he went there for (on behalf of) my sister’

The preposition *zà* followed by an independent clause also functions as a marker of reason corresponding to ‘because’ (see chapter 21).

The preposition *mbok*, possibly derived from the verb *mbà* ‘come’ followed by the associative preposition *kə*, indicates movement or location either between or among entities:

- (68) *na wadà ʔin dān wa dān varì rəkway mənə na*
na wàʔ dan in dan wá dan varì rəkway mənì na
 1SG want PURP tell about trip ('road stranger') when 1SG
gí wǎy mbò Marou kə Garouà fətà vendredií
gí wǎy mbok Maroua kə Garoua fəta Friday
 make last time between M. ASSC G. day Friday
mõy ʒenà
mə(nasal) wǎy ʒé na
 REL last time pass I.PRO
 'I want to tell the story about my most recent trip from Maroua to Garoua last Friday.'

The object of the preposition is not necessarily tangible:

- (69) *nambà wá ge dān mbok ndʒì*
 1PL IMPF throw words between/among RECIP
 'we are conversing' (lit. 'we are throwing words between us')
- (70) *dān mi mbok rù kə rìn su*
 word what between/among 2M.POSS ASSC 1SG.POSS Q
 'what is the problem between us?'

5.2 Spatial Specifiers

In Pévé, as in many languages, some spatial specifiers have their origins in body-part nouns. In many cases the nominal function co-exists with the spatial specifier function. The spatial specifier *rawti* 'inside', derived from the noun *rawti* 'stomach', denotes the presence of one entity within another. Note that the spatial specifier may follow a preposition:

- (71) *ta wə rawti mota*
 3F PREP inside car
 'he is inside the car'

The spatial specifier can precede an inherently locative complement

- (72) *ta wə rawti só*
 3F PREP inside house
 'she is inside the house'

The spatial specifier *gàʔ* 'beside' indicates proximity to a place:

- (73) *Tau gà? Béré*
 T. beside B.
 'Tau is beside (the village of) Béré'

The form *hay?* 'near, next to, beside' may indicate proximity to a person, a place, or an entity:

- (74) *na súk hay? ndzər rin-i*
 1SG stay PREP brother 1SG.POSS
 'I stayed near/next to my brother'

- (75) *mbi wə ne hay? zè wu*
 water IMPF run PREP river IDEO
 'the water is bubbling on the edge of the river'

Like the spatial specifier *gà?*, *hay?* may be preceded by the preposition *wə* 'in, on, at':

- (76) *na wə hay? Gwà*
 1SG PREP PREP G.
 'I am near Gwa'

The form *hay?* has its origin in the body part corresponding to 'side, flank', as in:

- (77) *hay? rin (wə) man ti(ti)*
 side 1SG.POSS IMPF 1SG.O hurt
 'my side hurts'

The spatial specifier *dù* indicates an entity or an event inside a group or location:

- (78) *swə məsín dù ri dǎw*
 person other inside 2PL.POSS one
 'one of you'

The spatial specifier *dù* 'within, among, in the middle of' may follow an inherently locative verb, thereby narrowing the scope of the predication. Note that the complement is also inherently locative:

- (79) *ta wá tà dù lúmò*
 3F IMPF walk, go within market
 'she is walking inside the market'

Cf. without *dù*:

- (80) *ta wá tà lúmò*
 3F IMPF walk, go market
 'she is walking to the market'

Further examples involving *dù*:

- (81) *à tà dù sōwǎ kə gwet-e*
 2M.SBJV walk among people ASSC caution
 'walk among the people with caution'
- (82) *na zá? ngùn wá dù mangao*
 1SG find maggot PREP center mango
 'I found a worm (maggot) in the middle of a mango'

While the origin of *dù* is unknown, its status as a spatial specifier is confirmed by the fact that *dù*, like spatial other specifiers, can be preceded by the preposition *wə*. The form *dù* is common in Pévé dialects and does not appear to be a borrowed form:

- (83) *na wé ndày wə dù finè*
 1SG see 3PL.O PREP within field
 'I saw them in the middle of the field'
- (84) *mum wə dù mbi?*
 3M PREP within water
 'he is in the water'

6 Conclusion

Pévé distinguishes between inherently locative verbs and non-locative verbs as well as inherently locative complements vs. non-locative complements. A non-locative complement in a locative predication is marked by a preposition, as is a non-locative complement or a locative complement that is separated

from the locative verb. Locative verbs in Puvé code a large number of relatively narrow meanings. Meanings can be further narrowed by the use of two serial verb constructions: Serial verb constructions in which the locative verb *tà* 'go/walk' or *mbà* 'come' follows another locative verb tell the listener whether or not the goal or destination of the main verb is the deictic center, while SVCs in which the locative verb *mbà* 'come', *tà* 'go/walk', or *də* 'go, travel' precedes a non-locative verb indicate altrilocality, i.e. movement of the subject prior to or during the event. Puvé also has a number of prepositions that mark specific spatial relations between entities. The meaning of a preposition can be narrowed by the use of a spatial specifier, usually derived from a body-part noun, after the preposition. In short, Puvé has grammaticalized the function of inherently locative vs. non-locative and has grammaticalized coding means for a wide range of locative and stative functions.

Verbless and Copular Predications

1 Introduction

This chapter describes the forms and functions of verbless and copular clauses in various domains, including identificational predication, equational predication, attributive predication, and possessive predication. Forms that mark these functions include the clause-final impersonal pronoun *na* and the clause-internal copula *kè*, both of which are described below. Although copulas are attested in Hausa (Newman 2000, Caron 2012, and other works), Zaar (Caron 2015), Guruntum (Gùrdùṅ) (Jaggar 1988), and other languages of the West Chadic branch, such forms are not widely used in languages of the East and Masa branches. An interesting fact that remains open for further study is the similarity between the copular form *-kV* in Hausa (see Schuh 2017 and works cited therein), and the copula *kè* in Pèvé. Also of interest is the resemblance between the Pèvé copula *kè* and the Pèvé associative preposition *kə*, although at this point there is no evidence that either of the Pèvé forms evolved from the other.

2 Identificational Predication

An identificational predication, as defined in the present work, tells the hearer how to identify an entity that is visible to the hearer or has been previously mentioned in discourse (cf. Moltmann 2013). The form of the identificational clause in Pèvé is Noun (Modifier) *na*, where *na* functions as an impersonal pronoun. This function is similar to that of the English forms ‘that’, ‘this’, ‘those’, ‘these’ or ‘it’ in identificational clauses (note the translations below), albeit the Pèvé predication does not code distinctions in number or proximity. The impersonal pronoun *na* is used in contrast with the copula *kè* (see sections 3 and 4, below).

An identificational predication may consist solely of the subject noun followed by the impersonal pronoun *na*:

- (1) *tʃime na*
 sheep I.PRO
 ‘it/that is a sheep’ (the sheep is visible)

- (2) *mléy?* *Taobày na*
mum lá? i Taobày na
 3M say COMP T. I.PRO
 'He said it is/was Taobay.' (Taobay was previously mentioned)

Without the clause-final *na*, the construction cannot serve as an independent clause:

- (3) *ndá? sá*
 horse 3F
 'her horse ...'

- (4) *mléy?* *Taobày*
mum lá? i Taobày
 3M say COMP T.
 'He said Taobay ...'

The head noun may be followed by a modifying word or phrase, which precedes the impersonal pronoun:

- (5) *ndá? sá na*
 horse 3F.POSS I.PRO
 'it/that is her horse'
- (6) *ndá? urá?-a na*
 horse black-FV I.PRO
 'it/that is a black horse'
- (7) *ya naw kunə mə handay na*
 cow PL REL 3PL I.PRO
 'those cows are theirs'

Again, the phrase without the impersonal pronoun cannot function as an independent clause:

- (8) *ndá? sá*
 horse 3F.POSS
 'her horse ...'

- (9) *ndá? urá?-a*
 horse black-FV
 'the black horse ...'
- (10) *ya naw kunə mə handay*
 cow PL REL 3PL
 'their cows ...'

While the English translations may suggest that *na* is a copular verb, there are several pieces of evidence that *na* is not a verb in Pévé. First, in a verbal clause the verb immediately follows the subject, while the form *na* occurs only in sentence-final position. Second, there is no means of marking *na* for tense or aspect, functions that are overtly marked in verbal phrases. Third, the impersonal pronoun *na* can function as the object of a preposition, a function that does not apply to verbs:

- (11) *ha tʃi mi ndó nə su?*
 2M cry what like I.PRO Q
 'The squirrel asked him: Why are you crying like that, friend?'

The form *na* bears resemblance to a number of other grammatical morphemes in Pévé, including the adposition *ne*, the masculine determiner and post-relative marker *nə*, the proximal determiner *ni*, and a number of object pronouns in the perfective set. The widespread functions of *na* and its similarity to a number of other grammatical morphemes in Pévé provide material for further study.

3 Equational Predication

The function of an equational predication is to indicate that the subject and the predicate have the same real-world referent. The basic form of the equational clause is Noun/Pronoun Noun/Pronoun, where the first noun or pronoun represents the subject and the second noun or pronoun represents the predicate. When the equational clause refers to the time of speech, the predicate is followed by the clause-final impersonal pronoun *na*. Interestingly, the equational clause is marked by the copula *kə* if and only if the clause refers to past or future time, as shown below. The following sections describe the distinction between equational predications with a noun as predicate and equational predications with a pronoun as predicate.

3.1 *Noun as Predicate*

As shown above, when the subject of the equational predication is a noun, the predicate is followed by the impersonal pronoun *na* in clause-final position:

- (12) *Taú ndzàr rìn mbàrí na*
 T. brother 1SG.POSS big, elder I.PRO
 'Tau is my older brother'

Without *na*, the clause is incomplete and the predicate phrase functions as modifier of the subject noun:

- (13) *Taú ndzàr rìn mbàrí*
 T. brother 1SG.POSS big, elder
 'Tau, my older brother ...'

When the subject of a time-of-speech equational clause is represented by a pronoun, the pronoun is immediately followed by the nominal predicate. Because a noun cannot modify a pronoun in the sequence Pronoun Noun, the equational predication is the only possible interpretation and the phrase-final impersonal pronoun *na* is not necessary:

- (14) *mum dá-a*
 3M dog-FV
 'he is a dog'
- (15) *ta bay màn-à*
 3F friend 1SG.POSS-FV
 'she is my friend'

The impersonal pronoun *na* can be used when the equational subject is pronominal, but it is not obligatory:

- (16) *Kói ín i mum gáo (na)*
 K. say COMP 3M hunter (I.PRO)
 'Koi₁ says that he_{1,2} is a hunter'

An equational predication with reference to a time before the time of speech is marked by the copula *kè* rather than by the impersonal pronoun *na*. Evidence that *kè* is a verb, unlike *na*, is that *kè* immediately follows the subject.

Furthermore, like other verbs (see chapter 8), *kè* carries high tone when the clause refers to a time before the time of speech:

- (17) *ta ké bay màn-à*
 3F COP friend 1SG-FV
 'she was my friend'

In an equational predication with future time reference, the copula has low tone and is preceded by the future tense marker *dà*, providing further evidence that *kè* is a verb while *na* is not:

- (18) *ta dà kè bay màn-a*
 3F FUT COP friend 1SG-FV
 'she will be my friend'

Cf. the form with reference to the time of speech (recall that *na* is not necessary in an equational clause of the form Pronoun Noun):

- (19) *ta bay màn-a*
 3F friend 1SG-FV
 'she is my friend'

As previously mentioned, the clause-final impersonal pronoun *na* rarely co-occurs with another clause-final marker. A content question about the identity of a human participant (see chapter 13) has the form of an equational predication whose predicate is the content question word *sa* 'who'. The clause-final impersonal pronoun *na* does not occur, since the clause-final interrogative marker *su* itself marks the end of the clause:

- (20) *ta sa su*
 3F who Q
 'who is she?' (lit. 'she [is] who?')

A question about a non-human participant has *mi* 'what' as the subject and a deictic demonstrative as the predicate. The relative marker *mə* before the demonstrative is optional and the impersonal pronoun *na* does not occur:

- (21) *mi (mə)ni su*
 what PROX Q
 'what [is] this?'

- (22) *mi (mə)naɣʔ su*
 what DIST.M Q
 ‘what [is] that?’

3.2 *Pronoun as Predicate*

An equational predication with a pronoun as predicate corresponds to ‘X is mine/yours/his/hers’, etc. Unlike the English translation, the pronoun serving as predicate in Pévé is from the set of indicative subject pronouns (see chapter 6), not the set of possessive pronouns. The pronoun serving as predicate is preceded by the relative marker *mə*. A clause-final marker, such as the impersonal pronoun *na*, must be used to indicate that the sequence Subject *mə* Pronoun clause is an independent clause (see section 2, above):

- (23) *ya nãw kunə mə nambà na*
 cow PL REL 1PL I.PRO
 ‘those cows are ours’

vs.

- (24) *ya nãw kunə mə nambà*
 cow PL REL 1PL
 ‘our cows there ...’

The equational predication with a pronoun as predicate is distinct from the attributive clause, in which the pronoun modifies the subject (see section 4, below). In the attributive clause, the modifying pronoun is from the possessive set:

- (25) *ya nãw man na*
 cow 1SG.POSS I.PRO
 ‘it/that is my cow’

Cf. the equational predication, with an indicative subject pronoun:

- (26) *yá nãw mə na na*
 cow REL 1SG I.PRO
 ‘the cow is mine’

A clause-final marker, such as the negative *mì* or an added final vowel, can also mark the end of the equational clause, rendering the phrase-final impersonal pronoun *na* unnecessary:

- (27) *mum tsú tsoḅ mə na kpe m̀ ama mum tsoḅ mə*
 3M NEG buy PREP 1SG never NEG but (Ar.) 3M buy PREP
ha taw sar-a
 2M only simply-FV
 'he never buys mine ('what is mine'); he only buys yours' ('what is yours')

4 Attributive Predication

The attributive predication is a verbless clause of the form Noun/Pronoun Modifier, where the modifier denotes an attribute of the subject noun or pronoun. Like other verbless predications, the attributive predication must end with a clause-final marker, which may consist of an added final vowel (FV) or a marker that is inherently clause-final. In the next example, the marker of completeness is the clause-final assertive marker *sí* (cf. chapter 9):

- (28) *Sáráy jáy sí*
 S. tall ASSERT
 'Sáráy is tall'

Without the assertive marker, the construction cannot stand alone and therefore cannot act as an attributive predication:

- (29) *Sáráy jáy*
 S. tall
 'tall Sárá ...'

A phrase-final added vowel (see chapter 3) is sometimes the sole marker of completeness of the predication:

- (30) *ta bròʔ-o*
 3F ugly-FV
 'she is ugly'
- (31) *mum dǎw sar-a*
 3M one only-FV
 'he is alone'
- (32) *ya ndaʔ rə uraʔ-a*
 mare (lit. 'female horse') DED.F black-FV
 'that mare is black'

Without the final vowel, the construction cannot stand alone:

- (33) *ya nda?* *rə* *ura?*
 mare (lit. 'female horse') DED.F black
 'that black mare ...'

An attributive predicate that is not an inherent modifier must be overtly marked for the modifying function. For example, a noun that functions as a modifier is preceded by the relative marker *mə*. The resulting construction is not a relative clause (see chapter 17). The evidence for this is that the attributive predication, unlike the relative clause, can stand alone as an independent clause:

- (34) *ya nãw mə bú*
 cow REL whiteness
 'the cow is white' (not 'the cow that is white ...')

The chief formal difference between the relative clause and an attributive predication with a nominal predicate is the lack of a resumptive pronoun in the attributive predication. With the resumptive pronoun *tí*, the construction serves as a relative clause rather than an independent attributive clause. The relative clause cannot function as an independent clause:

- (35) *ya nãw mə tí bú*
 cow REL PRO whiteness
 'the cow that is white ...'

The difference between the relative clause and the attributive predication is further illustrated by the next example. The first instance of the form *mə* marks the verb phrase *tà kə syem* 'walks on legs' as an attribute of the subject *kwá* 'thing'. There is no resumptive pronoun within the phrase, so the phrase is attributive. The attributive phrase [*kwá mə tà kə syem*] is itself the head of a larger clause that is marked by the second instance of *mə*. The evidence that the larger clause is a relative clause and not an attributive clause is that the marker *mə* in the larger clause is followed by the masculine resumptive pronoun *ní*. The end of the relative clause is marked by the masculine post-relative marker *nə* (chapter 17), which does not occur in the attributive clause. The lengthy relative clause *kwá ... nə* in turn functions as the subject of a larger attributive predication whose predicate is *kəliŋ* 'rat'. The status of the sentence as an independent identificational clause is marked by the clause-final impersonal pronoun *na*:

- (36) *kwá mà tà kə syem] mà nì nambà wé nà kəlìŋ*
 thing REL go ASSC feet, legs REL PRO 1PL see POST rat
n-a
 LPRO-FV
 'the animal ('thing walking on legs') that we saw, it is a rat'

As is the case in equational and identificational constructions, the attributive clause with past or future time reference is marked by the copula *kè*. The copula has high tone in reference to past time:

- (37) *ta ké báý kum àmá tám ta tsú báý za? mi*
 3F COP pretty yesterday but (Ar.) today 3F NEG pretty still NEG
 'she was pretty yesterday, but she is not pretty today'

Cf. the same notion with reference to the time of speech, where *kè* does not occur:

- (38) *ta báý*
 3F pretty
 'she is pretty'

- (39) *tsob rum ké báýrúm-u*
 price 3M.POSS COP much-FV
 'its price was high'

Cf.

- (40) *tsob rum báýrúm-u*
 price 3M.POSS much-FV
 'its price is high'

In an attributive clause that refers to future time, the future marker *dà* precedes the copula and the copula carries its underlying low tone:

- (41) *tsob rum dà kè báýrúm*
 price 3M FUT COP much
 'its price will be high'

5 Possessive Predication

Like most Chadic languages described so far, Pév  has no verb of possession corresponding to English ‘to have’ or its equivalent in other Indo-European languages. The possessive predication has the form Possessor *k * Possessum (the thing possessed), where *k * is the associative preposition:

- (42) *ta k  s lay-a*
 3F ASSC money-FV
 ‘she has money’ (lit. ‘she (is) with money’)

- (43) *ta ts  k  s lay m *
 3F NEG ASSC money NEG
 ‘she does not have money’

The attribute ‘hot’ is also conveyed by a possessive construction:

- (44) *f n n  k  ku*
 boule/food PROX ASSC heat, fire
 ‘this food is hot’ (lit. ‘with heat’)

The inanimate subject does not have to be overtly marked in the clause, provided the subject is understood:

- (45) *k  ku*
 ASSC heat, fire
 ‘(it) is hot’

The resemblance between the copula *k * and the associative preposition *k * might suggest a path of evolution from one function to the other, but this is rendered unlikely by the fact that the two markers can be used together, each retaining its own function:

- (46) *namba k  k  s lay-a*
 1PL COP ASSC money-FV
 ‘we used to have money’

6 Conclusion

An independent verbless clause must be marked as such by a clause-final added vowel, the interrogative marker *su*, the assertive marker *si*, the clause-final impersonal pronoun *na*, and perhaps other means of marking the end of a clause. Verbless clauses are attested in the domains of identificational predication, equational predication, and attributive predication. The impersonal pronoun *na* is used in such predications only if the clause in question refers to a state or event that exists or takes place at the time of speech. If the clause refers to a point in time before or after the time of speech, the clause is marked instead by the copula *kè*. Like other verbs, the copula carries high tone in the perfective function and is preceded by the marker *dá* in the future tense function. The absence of the copula *kè*, the impersonal pronoun *na*, or some other means of marking the end of a clause renders the verbless clause a dependent phrase that cannot stand alone.

System of Reference

1 Introduction

The domain of reference in Pèvé includes the following subdomains: first mention of an entity; deducible reference, whereby the referent can be deduced by the hearer even if the referent is not visible and has not been previously mentioned; anaphoric reference, i.e. reference to an entity, location, time, or characteristic that has been previously mentioned in discourse; and deictic reference, which indicates the position of a place, entity, or point in time with respect to the time and place of speech. The means of coding reference within these domains include the bare noun phrase, pronouns, the absence of overt marking of the participant, and two sets of determiners, namely anaphoric and deictic. As shown below, some determiners also function independently as demonstratives. As is true of most Chadic languages, there is no designated first-mention marker corresponding to the indefinite article ‘a’ in English.

This chapter describes the forms and functions used in various referential domains. The term ‘determiner’ is used when the referential marker modifies a noun, while the term ‘demonstrative’ is used when the referential marker stands alone. A few forms, including the markers *ti* (fem.) and *ni* (masc.), function as determiners in some clauses and as demonstratives in others (see section 6, below). Determiners and demonstratives described in this chapter also play an important role in relative clauses, as described in chapter 17.

2 First Mention: Bare Noun Phrase

In this work the term ‘bare noun phrase’ refers to a noun phrase that is not marked by a determiner from any of the sets described in sections 3 and 7, below. The bare noun phrase may consist of a noun alone, a noun followed by a modifier or possessive marker, or a noun followed by a relative clause whose function is to modify the head noun. In any case, the function of the bare noun phrase is to indicate first mention of the entity to which the head noun refers. The bare noun phrase may or may not function as a new topic of conversation.

The following natural discourse passage contains the first mention of the head nouns *brùk* ‘monitor lizard’, *dàbã?* ‘tobacco’, and *só* ‘village’. The head noun

só and the nominal modifier *dzə̀nàk* ‘guinea fowl’ together form a bare noun phrase:

- (1) *brògò ... ʔá táy ɡi tsoʔ dā̀bāwə só dzə̀nàk-à*
brùk-ù... ʔá tá ɡi tsoʔ dā̀bāʔ wə só
 monitor lizard-FV depart for sell tobacco PREP village

dzə̀nàk-à

guinea fowl-FV

‘A monitor lizard went to sell tobacco in [a] village of guinea fowls.’

In the bare noun phrase, as shown in the preceding example, no distinction is made between singular and plural referents. On subsequent mention of the modifying noun *dzə̀nàk*, plurality is marked by the plural marker *kunə* (see section 3, below):

- (2) *mum tá dáy wə só dzə̀nàk kunə si*
 3M reach PREP village guinea fowl DED.PL ASSERT
 ‘he reached the village of the guinea fowls’

In the following elicited sentence the bare noun phrase may represent either a singular or a plural entity, since the entity has not been previously mentioned:

- (3) *handà y tsóʔ hu*
 3PL buy goat
 ‘they bought [a] goat’ or ‘they bought goats’

Following are further examples of bare noun phrases in discourse. In both cases the bare noun phrase represents the first mention of the head noun:

- (4) *mum súk wə só mə də kə Səgak*
 3M stay PREP village REL call ASSC S.
 ‘He stayed in [a] village called Səgak.’

- (5) *ífray də nan wə ri ʔaʔ dalinga*
 God call 1SG.O PREP place dance dalinga
 ‘God called me to [a] place for [the] *dalinga* dance.’ (*dalinga* is a traditional Pévé dance)

3 Deducible Reference Markers: *nə*, *rə* and *kunə*

In the present work, ‘deducible reference’ means that the speaker believes the listener can deduce the referent of a given noun without information as to the particular domain of reference, which may involve previous mention, knowledge shared by the speaker and listener, widespread common knowledge, deictic reference, and other domains. A distinction is drawn between deducible reference and reference to an unknown entity (see section 4).

Deducible reference in Pévé is marked by the determiner *nə* (masc.) or *rə* (fem.) or by the general plural marker *kunə* at the end of the noun phrase. The deducible reference marker may follow any noun (proper or common), adjective, modifying noun, deictic marker, or relative clause that modifies the head noun. As shown in chapter 17, deducible reference markers also function as post-relative markers in the relative clause.

In many cases the deducible reference marker indicates that the referent has been previously mentioned. In the following example, the first mention of the entity *vay dzənàk* ‘young guinea fowl’ is marked by a bare noun phrase, as described in section 2. The second mention of the same referent is marked by the noun *dzənàk* followed by the masculine deducible reference marker *nə*. Note that *dzənàk*, on first mention, functions as the modifier of the head noun *vay*, while *dzənàk* on second mention functions as the head of the noun phrase. This provides evidence that deducible reference is a function that is independent from the grammatical function of the noun in question:

- (6) *syəmínzĩ?* *rùm* *na?* (pause) *mum pyáwa* *nəm*
syem *híndzĩ?* *rùm* *na* (pause) *mum pé* *wa* *ne*
time three 3M.POSS I.PRO 3M hit head ADP
 vay dzənàk *màfin rùm* *bay dzənàk*
mi [corr.: *kə*] *vay dzənàk* *məsin rùm* *bay dzənàk*
ASSC child guinea fowl other 3M.POSS CONJ guinea fowl
nə *ʒé* *kə* *tʃĩʔ-i*
nə *ʒé* *kə* *tʃĩʔ-i*
DED.M start ASSC cry-FV
‘The third time, he hit a young guinea fowl (lit. ‘a child guinea fowl among them’) on the head, and the guinea fowl suddenly started to cry.’

In the next example the subject noun *ma* ‘woman’, marked by the feminine deducible reference marker *rə*, was mentioned earlier in the text:

- (7) *ma rə vrá? kə rín daw ndziwkwà hóbo*
 woman DED.F bear ASSC 1SG.POSS children man.PL two
 'The woman gave birth to my two sons.'

As shown in the examples 1–5 above, a bare noun phrase with a plural referent is not overtly marked for plurality on first mention but is marked by the plural reference marker *kunə* on subsequent mention. Evidence that *kunə* is not simply a marker of nominal plurality is that *kunə* can follow an inherently plural noun such as *daw* 'children':

- (8) *daw kuni [kunə] ì mbà yé*
 children PL 2PL.SBJV come PERM
 'you kids come over here!'

Most of the examples above would seem to indicate that the function of the determiner *rə*, *nə* or *kunə* is to mark previous mention. However, not all previously mentioned entities are marked for previous mention. In the following natural discourse examples, the bolded nouns refer to entities that were previously mentioned in the text but are not followed by any marker indicating previous mention:

- (9) *suk wá so... so rùm də má su*
 live PREP village village 3M.POSS call what Q
 '[You] live in the village ... what's the name of the village?'
- (10) *bay ha kə dan kádàn in ne kə sōwā Pévé kə*
 CONJ 2M ASSC word PURP tell PREP ASSC people P. ASSC
ta? su
 also NEG
 'And you also told the people of Pévé about it, right?'
- (11) *mum ne mi kə daw su*
 3M give what ASSC children Q
 'What did he give to the children?'

A proper noun is inherently deducible and therefore is not marked by *rə*, *nə* or *kunə* on first mention or subsequent mention. The following natural discourse passage contains the first and second mentions of the character *yí* 'squirrel', which functions as a proper noun in the text. Neither mention is marked for deducible reference, providing evidence that the markers *rə*, *nə* and *kunə* do not

mark previous mention. The noun *brùk* ‘monitor lizard’, which also functions as a proper noun in the text, is also unmarked, even though it was mentioned earlier in the text:

- (12) *kərimum fã da mum ndyéwa kə bruk εε*
kəri mənɪ mum faɲ da mum ndewa kə brùk uh
 when 3M return go 3M meet ASSC monitor lizard no
é brùk tsummum ndéwa kə ... yii
é brùk tsú mɪ mum ndéwa kə ... yii
 eh monitor lizard NEG NEG 3M meet ASSC squirrel
 ‘On his way home he ran into Monitor Lizard, ... not Monitor Lizard, he
 ran into Squirrel.’

- (13) *bay yü gwà?à tʃi və rum ha tʃi? mí sú báý ha*
bay yü gwà? tʃi vun rùm ha tʃi? mi su bay ha
 CONJ squirrel then ask 3M.POSS 2M cry what Q friend 2M
tʃi? mí ndá nə? su
tʃi? mi ndə na su
 cry what like I.PRO Q
 ‘And then Squirrel asks him, “Why are you crying, friend? Why are you
 crying like that?”’

Whenever the deducible reference marker follows a noun phrase, the function of modifiers within the noun phrase is to narrow the scope of deducibility. Again, the function of the deducible reference marker is not limited to previous mention. In the following example, the nouns *ndzàr* ‘brother’ and *ndzar* ‘sister’ have not been previously mentioned. The plural marker *kunə* tells the listener that the referent is deducible, while use of the possessive pronoun *rin* narrows the scope of reference:

- (14) *ndzàr rin kə ndzar rin kunə (ba)wa si*
 brother 1SG.POSS ASSC sister 1SG.POSS DED.PL reunite ASSERT
 ‘my brothers and sisters reunited’ (brothers and sisters were not previously mentioned)

Similarly with the following elicited example, where the noun *ya nāw* ‘cow’ has not been previously mentioned. The deducible reference marker *rə* tells the listener that the referent is deducible, while the possessive pronoun *màn* narrows the scope of reference:

- (15) *na dà ùm gi tsoḅ ya nǎw mǎn r-a*
 1SG FUT 3M.O sell cow 1SG.POSS DED.F-FV
 'I will sell him my cow' (the cow has not been previously mentioned)

When the noun is a common noun, the referent has not been previously mentioned, and the clause provides no means of narrowing the scope of reference, the deducible reference marker cannot be used:

- (16) *handà y tsóḅ ya nǎw *rə*
 3PL buy fem bovine DED.F
 for 'they bought a cow'

Use of the first-person plural possessive pronoun *mbà* after a proper noun reduces the scope of reference to an entity known to both speaker and hearer, hence the deducible reference marker can be used:

- (17) *swə mbà nə mbá sí*
 man 1PL.POSS DED.M come ASSERT
 'the (lit. 'our') man has come'

The deducible reference marker may also follow a noun whose referent is visible but has not been previously mentioned:

- (18) *ya nda? rə ura?-a*
 female horse DED.F black-FV
 'that mare (or 'the mare over there') is black' (the listener can see the mare)

The scope of reference can also be narrowed by a relative clause modifying the head noun. Again, the deducible reference marker tells the listener that the referent can be deduced and the modifier narrows the scope of reference:

- (19) *à kar sowã mə nà y? kun-a*
 2M.SBJV look people REL DIST.M DED.PL-FV
 'look at the people over there!'

The function of *nə*, *rə*, or *kunə* is not limited to indicating previous reference, as shown above. However, because the use of *nə*, *rə*, or *kunə* after a noun phrase consisting solely of a common noun usually implies previous reference, this

can be considered the default domain of reference when the noun is followed by *nə*, *rə*, or *kunə*:

- (20) *só kunə rōwā*
 house PL large
 ‘the houses are large’ (the houses have been previously mentioned)
- (21) *la? dàn ya nāw rə si Taú dā gi tsob s-á*
 if word cow DED.F ASSERT T. FUT sell 3F.POSS-FV
 ‘if it’s about the cow, Tau will sell her’ (we have been talking about the cow)

Markers of deducible reference interact with functions in a wide variety of domains, as described in other sections and chapters.

4 Reference to an Unspecified Entity

An unspecified entity differs from a deducible entity in that the unspecified entity may or may not be known to the speaker or listener. Reference to an unspecified entity does not instruct the listener to deduce the referent, since the referent may not be deducible.

Reference to an unspecified human entity can be indicated by the nouns *swə* ‘man, person, someone’ (*sə*, in rapid speech), *ma* ‘woman’, or *sowā* ‘people’:

- (22) *na wé swə wə mbə hay? mba*
 1SG see man IMPF enter house 1PL.POSS
 ‘I saw someone going into our house.’
- (23) *mum(l)á?á εε sumà?in dù ri dāw léa bàl*
mum lá?á εε swə məsín dù ri dāw té bal
 3M say eh man other within 2PL.POSS one take credit
dàbā? màn wāy zà? kǔm-ú
dàbā? màn wāy zà? kúm-ú
 tobacco 1SG.POSS day before yesterday-FV
 ‘He said, “One of you took my tobacco on credit (lit. ‘my tobacco’s credit’) the day before yesterday.”’

- (24) *ma/swə púm nà̃n-a*
 woman/man hit 1SG.O-FV
 'someone hit me'
- (25) *mum kəɗam kə sowā dāŋ?*
 3M nice/good ASSC people all
 'he is nice to everyone'

The form *swə* is used if the gender is unknown to the speaker (the noun *swə* becomes *swa* with phrase-final vowel addition):

- (26) *na wé sw-a*
 1SG see person-FV
 'I saw someone (male or female)'

There is no formal distinction between a pronoun with an unknown referent and a pronoun with a known referent:

- (27) *nambà gāk in tà?* ...
 1PL can say also
 'one can also say ...'

Cf. the same form with a known referent:

- (28) *namba wó ge dan mbok nzi*
 1PL PRES throw words between RECIP
 'we are conversing'

A pronoun can also be used when no referent is implied:

- (29) *handày fól ya nāw si*
 3PL slaughter cow ASSERT
 'someone slaughtered the cow' or 'the cow was slaughtered'

The form *məsín* 'other', 'some' or 'one of' as a nominal modifier indicates reference to an unspecified member of the group represented by the head noun (see also example 23, above). The form *məsín*, which follows the noun it modifies, is likely derived from the relative marker *mə* followed by the noun *sín* (source unknown):

- (30) *fɛ̀tà mäsín nambà wé (yé) nùm hay? vari*
 day other 1PL saw PREP 3SG PREP road
 'the other day we saw him beside to the road.'
- (31) *mum ti ɬew ɓay mum tsú ár kam kwá mäsín mi*
 3M eat meat CONJ 3M NEG leave remains other NEG
 'he ate the meat and did not leave any ('some') leftovers'
- (32) *i ti ga? ri mäsín ye*
 2PL eat side place other PERM
 'you can eat it somewhere else (in another place)'

5 Anaphoric Reference

Anaphoric reference indicates that the referent has been previously mentioned in discourse. The referent in question may be an entity, a location, an event, a manner, a speech act, or a point in time. As shown in section 3, a previously mentioned entity does not have to be overtly marked as previously mentioned, and there appears to be no marker whose sole function is to indicate previous reference. Pronouns, however, do play a role in previous mention, as shown below. When an entity is represented by a pronoun, a distinction is drawn between animate previous reference and inanimate previous reference. The previously mentioned object of a preposition, whether animate or inanimate, is marked by the unique form *ndí*, described in section 5.2, below.

5.1 *Pronouns and Previous Mention*

5.1.1 Animate Previous Mention

Reference to a previously mentioned third-person animate entity, human or non-human, can be marked by a pronoun from one of the sets described in chapter 5. In the data used for the present project, there is only one instance in which the third-person animate pronoun is omitted. There is thus a distinction between animate previous mention (marked) and inanimate previous mention (unmarked).

In coding reference to a third-person animate entity there is no distinction between coreferential and non-coreferential pronouns within the same utterance:

- (33) *εε kəri mənì ... mum ʔín ne nùm ndá naʔ-a bròk*
εε kəri mənì mum ín ne nùm ndá naʔ-a brùk
 eh when 3M say ADP 3M like I.PRO-FV monitor lizard
gwaʔə tʃí və rùm-u syamdye wũ dýè maa su
gwaʔ tʃí vun rùm-u syemde wũ de má su
 then ask 3M.POSS-FV name 2M.POSS call what Q
 ‘When he₁ told him₂ that (lit. ‘said to him like that’), Monitor Lizard asked him, “What do they call you?”’

- (34) *mum la ne kə brùg náʔ mum gyéwambə*
mum láʔ ne kə brùk na mum gewa mbə
 3M say ADP ASSC monitor lizard-FV I.PRO 3M come back
sədayʔ ... kədàn ve ... səlay um bo
sədayʔ ... kədàn ve ... səlay um.... bo
 two days later PURP take money 3M.POSS PROM
 ‘He₁ told Monitor Lizard he₂ should come back in two days to get his₂ money back—definitely.’

- (35) *ta tá hayʔ bay s-á*
 3F go PREP friend 3F.POSS-FV
 ‘she₁ went beside her_{1,2} friend’

- (36) *əŋ làʔ sá tə mbə ye*
 2F.SBJV tell 3F.O 3F.SBJV come PERM
 ‘you tell her₁ that she_{1,2} could come’

5.1.2 Inanimate Previous Mention

The absence of an overt marker of a third-person argument tells the listener that the referent of the argument is both inanimate and previously mentioned:

- (37) *na tsób vu na tsób kúm-ú*
 1SG buy salt 1SG buy yesterday
 ‘I bought salt, I bought [it] yesterday’
- (38) *na dà ti síw-i*
 1SG FUT eat tomorrow-FV
 ‘I will eat [it] tomorrow’ (we have been talking about food)

- (39) à ne nà rí?i
 2M.SBJV give 1SG.O OBLIG
 ‘you should give [it] to me’ (we have been talking about the thing to be given)

A previously mentioned inanimate third-person subject can also be omitted, resulting in a clause without an overt subject:

- (40) kə ku
 ASSC fire
 ‘[the food] is hot’ (lit. ‘with fire’; the food has been mentioned previously)

The absence of an overt marker does not necessarily indicate reference to the nearest previously mentioned entity, as shown in the next example:

- (41) la? tsof rum báyrúm si, i tsof ga? ri masin
 COND buy 3M.POSS much ASSERT 2PL buy side place other
 ye
 PERM
 ‘if its price is high, you can buy [it] somewhere else’

Indicating an inanimate argument by means of zero-coding is probably tied to the fact that there is no neuter pronoun corresponding to ‘it’ in Pévé. Compare the following examples, where the animate object is marked and the inanimate object is unmarked:

- (42) Tau dà sə/um fol-o
 T. FUT 3F.O/3M.O slaughter-FV
 ‘Tau will slaughter her/him’

vs.

- (43) Tau dà fol-o
 T. FUT slaughter-FV
 ‘Tau will slaughter [it].’

Because the previously mentioned inanimate entity is usually unmarked, reference to such an entity by means of a third-person masculine or feminine pronoun places the object in focus (see chapter 15):

- (44) *na ti sá/nùm kúm-ú*
 1SG ate 3F.O/3M.O yesterday-FV
 'I ate it yesterday'
- (45) *mum wá sá tsoḡ man ne*
 3M IMPF 3F.O buy 1SG.O ADP
 'he is buying it for me'

5.2 *Object of the Preposition kə*

Pévé has a unique pronoun form *ndi* that is used solely to represent the object of the associative preposition *kə*. The object of the preposition is a singular third-person entity, animate or inanimate, that has been previously mentioned or whose reference can be deduced by the listener. The form *ndi*, glossed OP for 'object of a preposition', is not a member of any known pronoun set in Pévé and is not attested with any prepositions other than *kə*:

- (46) *na faŋ Garoua kə ndi*
 1SG return Garoua PREP OP
 'I returned to Garoua with it.'

Cf. a similar construction in which the object of the preposition is represented by a noun:

- (47) *Taú fól sá kə àtsíw*
 T. slaughter 3F.O ASSC knife
 'Tau slaughtered her (the cow) with a knife'

Another pair of examples:

- (48) *ha mbá kə sàlày si su*
 2M come ASSC money ASSERT Q
 'did you bring (lit. 'come with') money?'
- (49) *àwo na mbá kə ndi si*
 yes 1SG come ASSC OP ASSERT
 'yes, I brought ('came with') it'

The form *ndi* is not limited to an inanimate referent:

- (50) *swə mə ni ʔé nà n mbá ti kə ndi nə bay*
 man REL PRO take 1SG.O come PROX ASSC OP POST friend
màn-à
 1SG.POSS-FV
 'the man who brought me here (lit. 'took me to come here with him') is
 my friend'

Evidence for the referential function of *ndi* is that it does not co-occur with a pronoun referring to a human entity:

- (51) *àwo na mbá kə sə/rum si*
 yes 1SG come ASSC 3F.O/3M.O ASSERT
 'yes, I brought ('came with') her/him'

The phrase *kə ndi* can be used in a clause describing possession of a previously mentioned inanimate object (recall that Puvé does not have a verb corresponding to 'to have, to own'):

- (52) *ta kə ndi*
 3F ASSC OP
 'she has it' (lit. 'she (is) with it')

The function of the phrase *kə ndi* is not limited to previous mention, as shown by the following example:

- (53) *ta gí tsob hu bay ta tsób mbraw kə ndi*
 3F sell goat CONJ 3F buy clothing ASSC OP
 'she sold a goat and bought clothing with it (the money from the sale)'

There appears to be no plural form corresponding to *ndi*. Instead, the plural object of *kə* is marked by a plural pronoun from the perfective/subjunctive object pronoun set described in chapter 6:

- (54) *yü ʔé kə zi gày kə nday*
 squirrel start ASSC play gày? ASSC 3PL.O
 'Squirrel immediately started to play gày? with them.'

The fact that the inanimate object of the preposition *kə* must be overtly coded even though the inanimate object of a verb is usually unmarked (see inanimate previous reference, above) is explained by the fact that a preposition cannot

function as a preposition without a complement. The origin of the pronoun *ndi* in Puvé remains to be explained, as it does not resemble any other third-person pronoun forms in the language. The pronoun *ndi* bears some resemblance the pronoun *dì* in Giziga (Central Chadic; Shay 2012, ms.), whose function is to indicate the presence of an additional third-person argument without specifying the syntactic or semantic function of the argument.

5.3 Anaphoric Location

The demonstrative *han*, glossed ‘there’, represents anaphoric reference to a location that is not the place of speech. The marker is distinct from all deictic demonstratives described in section 6 below. Here is an example of *han* in natural discourse:

- (55) *bay mota mənahā rawtirùm*
bay mota mā ni na han rawti rùm
 CONJ car (Ful.) REL PRO 1SG there inside 3M.POSS
na (pause) zá? tsúwál zye nəkəndzíkè fǎdĩ?
n-a zá? tsúwál zè nə kə ndzike fǎdĩ? mā
 POST-FV find cross river DED.M ASSC iron four REL
màgà? bàka
gà? bàkà
 side morning
 ‘Then the car that I was sitting in there managed to cross the river at four o’clock in the morning.’

Additional examples:

- (56) *Mora na tá han syem ráw-a*
 M. 1SG go there time many-FV
 ‘Mora, I have been there many times’
- (57) *ri mà ni na tsár han nə kələŋ dzúkú*
 place REL PRO 1SG stay there POST clean very
 ‘the place that I stayed in there was very clean’

5.4 Anaphoric Reference in Other Domains

Puvé also has means of marking anaphoric reference in a number of other domains, including event, manner, speech act, or point in time. The impersonal pronoun *na*, preceded by the equal-comparison marker *ndí* ‘like’ (*ndá* when phrase-internal), codes anaphoric reference to a previously described event,

state or manner. As shown in chapter 11, the impersonal pronoun *na* also has the function of marking a verbless construction as an independent clause. In the next sequence, the first example describes the event and the second example refers back to the event, as indicated by the phrase *ndá na*:

- (58) *mum pe ndá?*
 3M hit horse
 'he hit a horse'

- (59) *mum gí ndá na syem hob*
 3M do like I.PRO time two
 'he did that twice'

The phrase *ndá na* may also indicate anaphoric or deictic reference to the type or manner of an event:

- (60) *ndzàr rin gí ndá na*
 brother 1SG.POSS do like I.PRO
 'my brother behaved like that'

- (61) *ha ul mi ndá na su*
 2M cough what like I.PRO Q
 'why are you coughing like that?'

The phrase *ndá na* after a verb of saying marks anaphoric reference to a speech act:

- (62) *εε kəri m̀̀ni ... mum ʔín ne ǹ̀m ndá naʔ-a bròk*
εε kəri m̀̀ni mum ín ne ǹ̀m ndá naʔ-a brùk
 eh when 3M say ADP 3M like I.PRO-FV monitor lizard
gwaʔə ʔí və r̀̀m-u syamɔ́ye wũ d̀̀ye maa su
gwaʔ ʔí vun r̀̀m-u syemɔ́de wũ de má su
 then ask 3M.POSS-FV name 2M.POSS call what Q
 'When he told him that (lit. 'said to him like that'), Monitor Lizard asked him, "What do they call you?"'

Reference to a previously mentioned point in time can be marked by the form *kəri* followed by a possessive pronoun referring to the subject. The form *kəri* is derived from the associative preposition *kə* followed by the noun *ri* 'time, place' (other functions of the marker *kəri* are described in chapter 18):

- (63) *kəri rùm brùk fǎŋ (error) fǎŋé (error)*
kəri rùm brùk fǎŋ fǎŋ ʒé
 then 3M.POSS monitor lizard repeat repeat pass
fǎŋyá nùm sar ye ... kə tʃiʔ-i
fǎŋ ʒyá nùm sar ye ... kə tʃiʔ-i
 depart ('repeat leave') 3M.O just ASSC cry-FV
 'At that point (lit. 'with his time'), Monitor Lizard left again, just sobbing'

Reference to a point in time can also be marked by a noun phrase consisting of a temporal noun followed by a masculine possessive pronoun:

- (64) *fəta rúm ʒi táŋ*
 day 3M.POSS war begin
 'on that day ('its day'), the war began'
- (65) *nambà tʃín ndʒì fəta rúm-u*
 1PL put RECIP day 3M.POSS-FV
 'we got married ('put with each other') on that day ('its day')'

6 Deictic Reference

The domain of deictic reference in Pévé includes (a) the position of a geographic location with respect to the place of speech (spatial deixis), (b) the position of an entity with respect to the place of speech (entity deixis), and (c) reference to a point in time with respect to the time of speech (temporal deixis). Markers of spatial and entity deixis distinguish between proximity to the place of speech (proximal deixis) and unspecified distance from the place of speech (distal deixis). Forms that mark deictic reference include determiners and demonstratives.

6.1 Spatial Deixis

The term 'spatial deixis' refers to the relationship between a location and the place of speech. Markers of spatial deixis distinguish between proximal and distal location, as shown below. What may be a unique feature of Pévé is the fact that spatial deixis markers reflect the gender of the entity whose location is described.

6.1.1 Proximal Spatial Deixis

The proximal demonstratives *ti* (fem.) and *ni* (masc.) refer to the place of speech. The default gender for the proximal location is feminine:

- (66) *nambà ʔyá ti ... kə ndʒikèt (error) əə ndʒike vaɬ*
nambà ʔyá ti kə ndʒike t əə ndʒike vaɬ
 1PL leave PROX.F ASSC iron (error) uh iron five
mə riyà
mə riyà
 REL evening
 'We left here at five o'clock in the evening.'

- (67) *à mbà ti mi*
 2M.SBJV come PROX.F NEG
 'don't come here!' (the addressee's gender is not known to the speaker)

The proximal demonstrative may stand alone as the subject of the clause:

- (68) *ti r-a*
 PROX.M 3F-FV
 'she is here' or 'it is here'
- (69) *ni n-a*
 PROX.M 3M-FV
 'he is here'

If the proximal location is unknown or has no inherent gender, use of the masculine demonstrative *ni* places the proximal location in focus. This resembles the use of *voici* vs. *ici* in French:

- (70) *mi ni su*
 what PROX.M Q
 'what is this?'
- (71) *bənaynə fǎmbágədàn ve sùlay n-a*
bay na ni fǎy mbá kédàn ve sàlay n-a
 CONJ 1SG PROX.M repeat come PURP take money DED.M-FV
 'So here I am again, coming back to get the money.'

- (72) à *kari?* *bay* *nambà ne*
 à *kar* *ri?* *bay* *nambà ni*
 2M.SBJV look already friend 1PL PROX.M
 ‘‘Look, buddy, we are **here**.’’

6.1.2 Distal Spatial Deixis

The distal counterparts of the proximal demonstratives *ti* and *ni* are *dáy?* (fem.) and *náy?* (masc., pl.). As is the case in proximal spatial deixis, the gender of the demonstrative reflects that of the entity whose location is referred to:

- (73) *ya naw mə dáy? rá mə mum na*
 cow REL DIST.F POST REL 3SG.M IPRO
 ‘that cow is his’ (lit. ‘the cow that is over there is his’)

Like the demonstratives *ti* and *ni*, *dáy?* and *náy?* can function as arguments in verbless clauses of the form ‘who/what (is) DEM’:

- (74) *mi náy? su*
 what DIST.M Q
 ‘what is that?’

- (75) *sa kuni náy? su*
 who PL DIST.M Q
 ‘who are they?’

- (76) *ma sa dáy? su*
 woman 3F DIST.F Q
 ‘who is that woman over there?’

In contrast with proximal deixis, where the feminine demonstrative is the default form, it appears that the masculine demonstrative is the default form for marking distal spatial deixis. The following sentence from natural discourse answers a question about arithmetic, which has no inherent gender:

- (77) *náy? gí gu kánki wá dǎw ... wá hóǒ sar ye*
 DIST.M make ten six head one ... head two only know
 kadi
 then (Ful.)
 ‘That makes about sixty-one ... two or so.’

6.2 Entity Deixis

The spatial deictic demonstratives *ti*, *ni*, *dáy?*, and *náy?* also function as determiners in the domain of entity deixis. In this function, the determiner indicates whether a noun refers to an entity near to or distant from the place of speech. Like the spatial deictic demonstratives in section 6.1, the deictic determiners distinguish between proximal and distal deixis. Again, the default gender for proximal deixis appears to be feminine. In the following example, the form *ti* (fem.) indicates that the preceding noun *dapà ga?* '(river) bank' refers to an entity that is near the place of speech, while the form *dáy?* (fem.) indicates that the entity represented by *dapà ga?* is distant from the place of speech:

- (78) *mota nyén dapà ga? tɕibáyrum baĩyén dàpà ga? ...*
mòta nyén dapà ga? ti báyrúm bay nyén dapa ga?
 car (Ful.) fill bank side PROX.F much CONJ fill bank side
dáy? báyrúm tà?-à
dáy? báyrúm tà?-à
 DIST.F much also-FV
 'Cars filled the (river) bank on this side and also on the other side.'

The form *ni*, when used as a determiner, refers to a masculine entity near the place of speech:

- (79) *swə ní nə púm num-u*
 man PROX.M PRO hit 3SG-FV
 'this man, he hit him'

The form *náy?* as a determiner refers to a masculine entity that is distant from the place of speech:

- (80) *ndá? náy? urá?-a*
 horse (m.) DIST.M black-FV
 'that horse is black'

The distal form *náy?*, like the proximal form *ni*, can refer to a plural entity of unspecified gender:

- (81) *à kat sowã mə náy? kun-a*
 2M.SBJV look people REL DIST.M DED.PL-FV
 'Look at those people over there!'

6.3 *Temporal Deixis*

The masculine proximal marker *ni* can also be used to mark the proximity of a point in time with respect to the time of speech. In phrase-final position the marker *ni* is followed by *na*, whose function is to mark the end of a verbless clause (see chapter 11):

- (82) *ì də də num kə fətà ni na*
 2PL.SBJV FUT call 3M.O ASSC day PROX I.PRO
 'you will call him this afternoon' (lit. 'with the afternoon that is here')

7 Conclusion

The rich system of reference in Pévé includes the first mention of an entity, as indicated by use of a bare noun phrase; feminine, masculine, and plural determiners that instruct the listener to deduce the referent of the noun using any available means; and various means of narrowing the scope of reference, including anaphoric reference to an entity, a location, a point in time, an event, or the manner of a preceding or ongoing event; previous mention; and proximal vs. distal deictic reference to an entity, location, or point in time. In all domains apart from first mention, plurality of the head noun is marked by the phrase-final marker *kunə*. The plural marker cannot be used in first mention of an entity. Some forms in the domain of reference have an interesting interaction with other domains. For example, because the default marker of proximal location is the feminine determiner *ti*, use of the masculine demonstrative *ni* in referring to a proximal location places the location in focus. Similarly, a previously mentioned inanimate entity is usually not overtly marked, so the use of an overt noun or pronoun to refer to a previously mentioned inanimate entity places the referent in focus.

Interrogatives

1 Introduction

This chapter describes the means used in Pévè to code polar ('yes/no') questions and content questions. All interrogatives are characterized by the presence of the phrase-final particle *su*. The coding of grammatical roles in the interrogative clause is the same as that in the affirmative clause, with the exception of certain verbless interrogatives concerning the identity of the deictic subject. Content questions code the following distinctions: human constituent, coded by *sa* 'who'; non-human, inanimate or abstract constituent, coded by *mi* 'what'; manner, coded by *ma* 'how'; and place, coded by *ka* 'where'. Further distinctions are coded by prepositional phrases involving question words, e.g. *zə mi* 'why' (lit. 'for what'), and *kə ma* 'when' (lit. 'with how').

2 Polar Questions

Polar questions are defined here as questions that seek the answer 'yes' or 'no'. A polar question has the form of an indicative clause marked by the phrase-final particle *su*. Elicited and natural discourse examples do not show an intonation pattern distinct from that of affirmative clauses.

In most examples the interrogative particle has mid tone:

- (1) *Taú tá lúmò su*
T. go market Q
'did Tau go to the market?'
- (2) *hí wé ndày só ndày su*
2PL saw 3PL.O house 3PL.POSS Q
'did you see them at their place?'

Based on natural discourse data, low tone on the interrogative particle places emphasis on the proposition in question (the voiceless fricative /s/ is sometimes voiced in intervocalic position):

- (3) *bay Taobay nə gaʔ gazù*
bay Taobay nə gaʔ ka su
 CONJ T. DED.M side where Q
 ‘‘So where is this Taobay?’’

- (4) *Taobàʔ nə sù náʔ*
Taobàʔ nə su na
 T. DED.M Q I.PRO
 ‘‘Is it Taobay?’’

Lower tone also places emphasis on the question word:

- (5) *bà ha dà we sakə sà sù*
bay ha dà we sa kə sa su
 CONJ 2M FUT know who ASSC who Q
 ‘So how will you know who is **who**?’

- (6) *mum sà su*
 3M who Q
 ‘**who** is he?’ (similar to ‘who does he think he is?’)

The assertive marker *si* before the interrogative particle places emphasis on the unexpectedness of the event. Here the interrogative marker has mid tone:

- (7) *Taú tá lúmò tám kə bàkà si su*
 T. go market today ASSC morning ASSERT Q
 ‘did Tau actually go to the market this morning?’ (I told him to)

- (8) *mum tá lúmò si su*
 3M go market ASSERT Q
 ‘did he really go to the market?’ (I told him not to)

The marker *si* cannot be used in a content question, which seeks additional information about the event. This is evidence for the assertive function of *si*, as described in chapter 9, since the speaker cannot advise the hearer to believe in a state or event that is not fully described:

- (9) *ha tá ka tám (*si) su*
 2M go where today (ASSERT) Q
 ‘where did you go to today?’ (i.e. I know you went somewhere, but I don’t know where)

The assertive marker *can*, however, be used in a polar question that questions the truth value of a single element of the proposition:

Speaker 1:

- (10) *Taú tá Garoua tám-á*
 T. go G. today-FV
 'Tau went to Garoua today'

Speaker 2:

- (11) *mum tá ka tám si su*
 3M go where today ASSERT Q
 'he went **where** today?' (the speaker wants the hearer to believe that the subject did not go)

Cf. the neutral content question:

- (12) *mum tá ka tám su*
 3M go where today Q
 'where did he go today?'

The polar question marker may co-occur with a marker of modality, e.g., the permission marker *ye*. This is evidence that the interrogative mood does not belong to the same domain as the deontic and epistemic modalities described in chapter 9:

- (13) *á te dërwa ye su*
 1SG.SBJV take book PERM Q
 'may I borrow this (book)?'

3 Content Questions

Content questions are defined here as questions seeking additional information about an event or state whose truth value is taken for granted. Coding means involved in content questions include content question words, prepositions, and the clause-final interrogative particle *su*. The grammatical role of the constituent in question is coded as it is in the affirmative clause, by linear order or preposition.

3.1 *Questions about Human Participants*

A question about the identity of a human participant in an event involves the question word *sa* ‘who’, whose grammatical role is coded as it is in the affirmative clause. The interrogative marker *su* occurs at the end of the clause:

- (14) *sa dām mbraw ne nùm su*
 who sew clothes ADP 3M.O Q
 ‘who sewed clothes for him?’

Cf.

- (15) *ta dām mbraw ne nùm su*
 3F sew clothes ADP 3M.O Q
 ‘she sewed clothes for him?’

The role of the question word as possessor is coded by the position after the possessum, as it is in the affirmative clause:

- (16) *hu sa ví? su*
 goat who lost Q
 ‘whose goat is lost?’

- (17) *mum wá bàr só sá su*
 3M IMPF live house who Q
 ‘who does he live with?’ (‘he lives in whose house?’)

Cf. the affirmative:

- (18) *mum wá suk só màn*
 3M IMPF stay house 1SG.POSS
 ‘he lives at my house’

A verbless clause with *sa* as predicate poses a question about the identity of the human subject. The person, gender, and number of the referent are coded by the pronominal subject:

- (19) *ta sa su*
 3F who Q
 ‘who is she?’

- (20) *mum sa su*
 3M who Q
 ‘who is he?’

In a question about the identity of a previously mentioned referent, the deducible reference marker *nə* (see chapter 12, section 3) follows the question word:

- (21) *bay sa nə su*
bay sa nə su
 CONJ who I.PRO Q
 ‘“So who was it?”’

The effect of the demonstrative *nə* may be to place the question word in focus:

- (22) *sa nə gí kwáti ne nùm su*
 who I.PRO made food ADP 3M.O Q
 ‘who was it who cooked for him?’

3.2 Questions about Non-human Constituents

The question word *mí* ‘what’ is used in questions about non-human or inanimate participants and in questions about abstract constituents. The grammatical function of the question word is marked by linear order or by preposition. The subject role is marked by clause-initial position:

- (23) *mí gí su*
 what go Q
 ‘what happened?’

The object role is marked by the position after the verb:

- (24) *mum ti mí su*
 3M eat what Q
 ‘what did he eat?’

- (25) *ha wà? mì su*
 2M want what Q
 ‘what do you want?’

A question about the identity of a non-human deictic subject is a verbless clause. The subject is represented by the question word *mi* ‘what’ and the predicate is a deictic demonstrative coding the person, gender, and number of the referent (see chapter 12). The relative marker may precede the demonstrative:

- (26) *mi (mə) ni su*
 what REL PROX.M Q
 ‘what is this?’

- (27) *mi (mə) náy? su*
 what (REL) DIST.M Q
 ‘what is that?’

3.3 Questions about Reason

There are several ways of posing a question about the cause of or reason for an event, all of which involve a preposition and the non-human question word *mi* ‘what’.

The preposition *zə* ‘for’ followed by *mi* ‘what’ indicates a question about reason. The prepositional phrase, like most adjuncts, may be clause-initial or clause-final. When *zə mi* is clause-final, the interrogative particle *su* follows the prepositional phrase:

- (28) *mum mbá zə mi su*
 3M come for what Q
 ‘why did he come?’

The prepositional phrase *zə mi* is one of the few constituents that can precede the subject of the sentence:

- (29) *zə mi mum mbá su*
 PREP what 3M come Q
 ‘why did he come?’

- (30) *zə mi mum tsú tǽ mbì mə su*
 for what 3M NEG drink water NEG Q
 ‘why didn’t he drink the water?’

The preposition *zə* also marks the affirmative reason clause (cf. chapter 21):

- (31) *handày pík né zà zà dǎm kú*
 3PL flee PREP grass build fire
 ‘they fled because of the grass fire’

At the normal rate of speech the preposition *zà* may be omitted from the reason question, leaving only the question word *mi* ‘what’. The structure is thus the same as a question about a non-human participant in the object role:

- (32) *ha tʃi? mí ndó na su*
 2M cry what like I.PRO Q
 ‘Why are you crying like that?’

- (33) *ha gí mi tám su*
 2M do what today Q
 ‘what did you do today?’

A question about reason may be coded by the phrase *zà dàn* (‘for word/matter’) followed by the question word *mi*. The sequence *zà dàn mi* poses a question about the fundamental cause or root of an event:

- (34) *ha ʔí nà n zà dàn mi su*
 2M insult 1SG.O reason (‘for word’) what Q
 ‘why did you insult me?’ (‘what caused you to insult me?’)

A question about reason can also be marked by *kádàn* (ASSC ‘word/matter’) followed by the question word *mi* and the interrogative marker:

- (35) *mum mbá kádàn mí su*
 3M come PURP what Q
 ‘why did he come?’

The phrase *kádàn* also marks the affirmative clause describing the purpose of an action (see chapter 21):

- (36) *na mbá kádàn wum ín kwá*
 1SG come PURP learn read (lit. ‘speak thing’)
 ‘I came here to learn to read’

3.4 Questions about Manner

A question about manner is indicated by the question word *ma* after the verb, followed by the interrogative marker *su*. The question word may be preceded by the relative marker *mə*, the conditions for which remain to be explored:

- (37) *ha gi (mə) ma su*
 2M do (REL) how Q
 'how do you do it?'

- (38) *syem(dē) mən dē ma su*
 name 2F.POSS call how Q
 'what is your name?' (female addressee; lit. 'your name is called how?')

- (39) *syem(dē) wũ dē ma su*
 name 2M.POSS call how Q
 'what is your name' (male addressee)

- (40) *ha gi sin wũ (mə) ma tam su*
 2M do work 2M.POSS REL how today Q
 'how did you work today?' or 'how did you do your work today?'

The question word *ma* and the question word *mi* 'what' are interchangeable in some constructions:

- (41) *ha tsoɓ ma/mi su*
 2M buy how/what Q
 'how/what are you buying?'

- (42) *ha tì ma/mi su*
 2M eat how/what Q
 'how/what are you eating?'

3.5 Questions about Time

A question about the time of an event may be marked by the question word *ma* 'how' preceded by the associative preposition *kə*:

- (43) *Gwà mbá kə ma su*
 G. come ASSC how Q
 'when did Gwa come?'

- (44) *mum wé nùm kə mà su*
 3M see 3M.O ASSC how Q
 'when did he see him?'

3.6 Questions about Quantity

In a question about quantity, the phrase *ma dák* 'how many/how much' follows the noun whose quantity is in question. As usual, the interrogative marker *su* is clause-final:

- (45) *ha tsób nda? ma dák su*
 2M buy horse how many ('what amount') Q
 'how many horses did you buy?'

3.7 Questions about Location

In a question about the location of an event or an entity, the question word *ka* 'where' follows the verb and precedes the interrogative marker:

- (46) *Taú suk ka su*
 T. stay, live where Q
 'where does Tau live?'
- (47) *ha tá ka tám su*
 2M go where today Q
 'where did you go today?'

Cf. the affirmative, where the locative complement also follows the verb:

- (48) *ha tá lúmò*
 2M go market
 'you went to the market'

A question about the location of the subject is a verbless clause with *ka* as the predicate, followed by *su*:

- (49) *mum ka su*
 3M where Q
 'where is he?'

The locative question word may be preceded by the locative complement *ga?* 'side', apparently without changing the meaning:

- (50) *bay Taobay nə gaʔ gazù*
bay Taobay nə gaʔ ka su
 CONJ T. DED.M side where Q
 “‘So where is this Taobay?’”

4 Conclusion

All types of interrogatives in Pévé are marked by the clause-final marker *su*. The polar question has the form of an affirmative clause followed by *su*, with grammatical roles and other categories marked as they are in the affirmative clause. Content questions are marked by a set of question words that distinguish among human referents on the one hand (*sa* ‘who’) and non-human, inanimate, or abstract constituents (*mi* ‘what’) on the other; manner (*ma* ‘how’); and location (*ka* ‘where’). Further distinctions, including time, reason, and quantity, are coded by prepositional phrases involving the content question words above. The marker *sí* occurs in a content question only when the question expresses the speaker’s disbelief in some element of the clause. Grammatical relations within content questions word are marked as they are in the affirmative clause.

Negation

1 Introduction

This chapter describes the means of negating verbal and verbless indicative clauses in Pévé. All attested negative clauses are marked by the negative particle *mì* in clause-final position. In most negative clauses the marker *mì* is accompanied by the negative particle *tsú*, which follows the subject noun or pronoun and precedes the verb. Situations in which only one negative marker occurs are described in sections below. Unlike in some Chadric languages (Wandala, Frajzyngier 2012; Hausa, Newman 2000; Mina, Frajzyngier and Johnson with Edwards 2005, and others), the means that are used to code tense and aspect in the negative clause are the same as those used in the affirmative clause. The means that are used to mark negation in the prohibitive clause, i.e. the negative counterpart of an imperative or subjunctive clause, are described in detail in chapter 9.

2 Indicative Clauses

In most instances, negation of the indicative clause is coded by the negative marker *tsú* immediately after the subject noun or pronoun and the negative marker *mì* at the end of the clause. Following are examples in various aspects and tenses:

Perfective aspect:

- (1) *Taú tsú tá lúmò tám kə bəkà mì*
 T. NEG go market today ASSC morning NEG
 ‘Tau didn’t go to the market this morning’

Cf. the affirmative perfective:

- (2) *Taú tá lúmò tám kə bəkà*
 T. go market today ASSC morning
 ‘Tau went to the market this morning’

Unmarked aspect:

- (3) *tá tsú gí tsoḅ mbìr mì*
 3F NEG sell milk NEG
 'she does not sell milk'

Cf. the affirmative unmarked aspect:

- (4) *tá gí tsoḅ sùḿ fàtā lúmò*
 3F sell beer day market
 'she sells beer on the day of the market'

The non-existence of an entity can be coded through negation of the affirmative clause:

- (5) *mòta tsú gāk tsuwal dāw mì*
 car (Ful.) NEG can cross one NEG
 'No car could cross it.' (or 'Not one car could cross it')
- (6) *mum ti tēw ḅay mum tsú ár kam kwá māsìn mì*
 3M eat meat CONJ 3M NEG leave rest other NEG
 'he ate the meat and did not leave any behind'

The same variations in constituent order that occur in affirmative clauses also occur in negative clauses. For example, in the future tense there is an alternation between the form S Tense/Aspect V O IO *ne* and the form S Tense/Aspect IO V O (see chapter 8). Either form can be negated by the same means, namely post-subject *tsú* and clause-final *mì*:

S NEG Tense/Aspect V O IO *ne* NEG:

- (7) *na tsú dà gí tsoḅ ya nāw màn ùm ne mì*
 1SG NEG FUT sell cow 1SG.POSS 3M.O ADP NEG
 'I will not sell him my cow'

S NEG Tense/Aspect IO V O NEG:

- (8) *na tsú dà ùm gí tsoḅ ya nāw màn mì*
 1SG NEG FUT 3M.O sell cow 1SG.POSS NEG
 'I will not sell him my cow'

The two negative markers, *tsú* and *mì*, are used in a verbless negative clause. The markers may occur in succession or may be separated by other constituents:

- (9) *mə na tsu mi*
mə na tsú mì
 REL 1SG NEG NEG
 ‘‘It wasn’t mine!’’

- (10) *dàw nə tsú dǎw za? mì!*
 children I.PRO NEG one find NEG
 ‘So not one child can be found!’

- (11) *ta tsú kə səlày mì*
 3F NEG ASSC money NEG
 ‘she does not have money’

Cf.:

- (12) *ta kə səlay-a*
 3F ASSC money-FV
 ‘she has money’

Neither of the negative markers *tsú* or *mì* can be omitted when the negative clause is used in isolation, and most negative clauses in natural discourse also use both negative markers. However, *tsú* can be omitted in a negative clause that is a response to a question:

- (13) *Taú (tsú) tá lúmò mì*
 T. NEG go market NEG
 ‘Tau didn’t go to the market’ (in response to ‘Did he go to the market?’)

As shown in chapter 9, the marker *tsú* is also not used in the prohibitive clause:

- (14) *à dǎk ku náy? mì*
 2M.SBJV touch fire DIST.M NEG
 ‘do not touch that fire!’

- (15) à *tsoḅ nà̀n mbraw dǎw mi*
 2M.SBJV buy 1SG.O clothing one NEG
 'do not buy me any clothing!'

The same is true for the informal version:

- (16) à *tsoḅ mbraw ne nà̀n dǎw mi*
 2M.SBJV buy clothing ADP 1SG.O one NEG
 'do not buy any clothing for me!'

The assertive marker *si* cannot be used in the negative clause. This supports the analysis that *si* codes the assertive mood, i.e. the speaker's desire that the hearer believe in the occurrence of an event (see chapter 9):

- (17) *handà̀y tsú tsoḅ ya nǎw mì *si*
 3PL NEG buy cow NEG ASSERT
 for 'they did not buy a cow'

The sequence *zaʔmi* ('more NEG') indicates the temporal status of the negated event or state:

- (18) *na tsu ti fun zaʔ mi*
 1SG NEG eat food more NEG
 'I do not eat anymore'
- (19) *May tsú bə̀ ndzɨ́ sá zaʔ mi*
 M. NEG love husband 3F.POSS more NEG
 'May no longer loves her husband'

A clause marked negative can serve as an interrogative clause, depending on context and intonation:

- (20) *ha tsú táʔ l'école dimanche nə zaʔ mi*
 2M NEG go to school Sunday DED.M more NEG
 'you no longer go to Sunday school?'

The negated clause can also be followed by the interrogative marker *su*. Note that the following clause also involves the permissive modality marker *ye* (see chapter 9), evidence that modality is a distinct domain:

- (21) à ta ye zaʔ mə [mi] su
 2M.SBJV walk PERM more NEG Q
 ‘you’re not walking anymore?’ (the hearer was expected to continue walking)

3 Scope of Negation

Elicited examples suggest that the scope of negation in Pévé is the entire proposition rather than an entity involved in the proposition. Attempts to elicit sentences in which one referent with a given grammatical role is negated while another referent with the same grammatical role is not negated resulted in separate clauses: a negative clause and an affirmative clause. Following is a Pévé translation of the English construction ‘he bought a cow, not a goat’:

- (22) *mum tsóʔ ya nãw àmá mum tsú tsóʔ hu m̀*
 3M buy cow but (Ar.) 3M NEG buy goat NEG
 ‘he bought a cow, but he did not buy a goat’

Translation of the English ‘he doesn’t buy mine, only yours’ also results in two separate clauses:

- (23) *mum tsú tsoʔ mə na kpe m̀ ama mum tsoʔ mə*
 3M NEG buy PREP 1SG never NEG but (Ar.) 3M buy PREP
 ha taw sar-a
 2M only-FV
 ‘he never buys (what is) mine; he only buys (what is) yours’

4 Conclusion

Most negative clauses involve the marker *tsú* after the subject noun or pronoun and the marker *m̀* at the end of the clause. The negative marker *tsú* can be omitted in a prohibitive clause or in a negative clause that is a response to a question. Tense and aspect are coded in the negative clause as they are in the affirmative clause. The scope of negation is the entire clause, not a single constituent.

Topicalization and Focus

1 Introduction

This chapter describes the coding of topicalization and focus in Pévé. In all available examples the topicalized constituent is clause-initial and plays a grammatical role in the comment clause, although that role is not always overtly marked in the comment clause. The grammatical role of the topicalized constituent may be marked by a resumptive pronoun or may be deduced from the presence or absence of other constituents in the clause.

The category ‘focus’ encompasses both contrastive focus, in which the focused element is implicitly compared with other elements that could have been used in the construction but were not used, and non-contrastive focus, in which the focused element is marked as being more salient than other elements of the construction. In some languages, such as Wandala (Biu-Mandara branch), the two functions are separate domains, but in Pévé both functions are coded by the same means (see below). The grammatical function of the focused element is coded by the same means used in the neutral clause. The focused constituent is *in situ*, unlike the fronted topicalized constituent, as described below.

2 Topicalization

In Pévé, as in many subject-initial languages, a constituent or phrase that is not the subject of the clause may be topicalized by being placed at the beginning of the clause. The grammatical role of the topicalized constituent may or may not be overtly marked in the comment clause.

When the topicalized constituent refers to an inanimate entity that functions as the direct object in the comment clause, its role in the comment clause is not overtly marked. This is consistent with the absence of overt coding of the inanimate direct object in other constructions (see chapters 6 and 12):

- (1) *ã ... eh, sém mi dʔe má su*
 um name 2PL.POSS call how Q
 ‘Um, what is your name?’ (lit. ‘name, you (pl.) call (it) how?’)

- (2) *lew dá (pause) na tsú bà mi*
 meat dog 1SG NEG like NEG
 'dog meat, I don't like (it)'

The function of a fronted direct object whose grammatical role in the comment clause is overtly marked is described in section 3.2, below.

When the fronted argument plays a role other than direct object in the comment clause, the topicalized entity is marked by the phrase *dàn* Noun DED, where *dàn* has the meaning 'word, topic', 'Noun' represents the topicalized argument, and the determiner is from the deducible reference set *rə* and *nə* (see chapter 12). Note that the topicalized entities below function as possessors, not direct objects, in the comment clause:

- (3) *là? dàn ndá? nə si Taú dà gi tsoɓ rum-u*
 COND word horse DED.M ASSERT T. FUT sell 3M.POSS-FV
 'if it's about the horse, Tau will do his sale' (i.e., sell him)
- (4) *là? dàn ya nāw rə si Taú dà gi tsoɓ s-á*
 COND word cow DED.F ASSERT T. FUT sell 3F.POSS-FV
 'if it's about the cow, Tau will do her sale' (i.e., sell her)

When the topicalized element is a locative complement its role in the comment clause is marked by the demonstrative *han* (see chapter 12), which is used only in anaphoric reference to a location:

- (5) *Mora (pause) na tá han sem ráw-a*
 M. 1SG go there times many-FV
 'Mora, I have been there many times'

Because the subject is the first constituent in the neutral clause (i.e. a clause without a topicalized constituent), fronting is not a sufficient means for topicalizing the subject. The topicalized subject has the form of a headless relative clause, where the topicalized subject is preceded by the relative marker *mə* and followed by the deducible reference marker *nə* or *rə* (see chapter 17 for the function of *nə* or *rə* as postrelative marker). The grammatical role of the topicalized subject constituent is indicated by a resumptive pronoun within the comment clause:

- (6) *mə Taú n-a (pause) mum tá lúmò tám kə bəkà*
 REL T. DED.M-FV 3M go market today ASSC morning
sí
 ASSERT
 'as for Tau, he went to the market today'

The deducible reference marker can be omitted, provided there is a pause after the topicalized constituent:

- (7) *mə Taú (pause) mum tá lúmò tám kə bəkà sí*
 REL T. 3M go market today ASSC morning ASSERT
 'as for Tau, he went to the market today'

In the following elicited verbless clause there is no marker either before or after the topicalized subject. The only indication of topicalization is the pause after the topicalized constituent *Gwà* and the indicative subject pronoun *tá* in the comment clause. The clause-final impersonal pronoun *na* marks the verbless equational clause (see chapter 11):

- (8) *Gwà, tá ndzar-rín mə mbàrí na*
 G. 3F sister-1SG.POSS REL older I.PRO
 'Gwa, she is my older sister'

Cf. without the indicative pronoun:

- (9) *Gwà ndzar-rín mə mbàrí na*
 G. sister-1SG.POSS REL older I.PRO
 'Gwà is my older sister'

3 Focus

A variety of constituents can be placed in focus, including nouns, modifiers, and predicates. The chief formal difference between topicalization and focus is that the focused element is not fronted but remains *in situ*, where its grammatical role is marked by the same means used in the neutral clause. Recall that Puvé does not draw a formal distinction between contrastive and non-contrastive focus.

3.1 *Focus on the Subject*

Focus on the subject is marked by the marker *kə* followed by the relative marker *mə* and a resumptive pronoun coding the gender of the head. The difference between the focus clause and the relative clause lies in the marker *kə* after the focused subject. The source of the marker *kə* is an open question, as the form bears similarity to both the copula *kè* and the associative preposition *kə*:

- (10) *mum kə mə ni tsób ya nãw àmá na tsú mì*
 3M FOC REL PRO buy cow but 1SG NEG NEG
 'it's he who bought the cow, not I'

- (11) *mum kə mə ni bay màn-a*
 3M FOC REL PRO friend 1SG.POSS-FV
 'it is he who is my friend'

Compare with the relative clause, where the head is not followed by *kə*:

- (12) *swə mə ni té nà n mbó ti kə ndi nə bay*
 man REL PRO take 1SG.O come here ASSC OP POST friend
màn-à
 1SG.POSS-FV
 'the man who brought me here is my friend'

When the focused entity is a proper noun, focus is marked by a determiner following the proper noun:

- (13) *bay Taobay nə gá? gazù*
bay Taobay nə ga? ka su
 CONJ T. DED.M side which Q
 "So where is this Taobay?"

3.2 *Focus on the Object*

As shown in chapter 6, a previously mentioned inanimate object is usually not overtly marked. When an object pronoun is used to refer an inanimate argument, this places the argument in focus:

- (14) *na ti sá/nùm kúm-ú*
 1SG ate 3F.O/3M.O yesterday-FV
 'I ate it yesterday'

- (15) *mum wá sá tsoḅ man ne*
 3M IMPF 3F.O buy 1SG.O ADP
 'he is buying it for me'

Cf. the non-focused form, where the direct object is unmarked:

- (16) *na tsóḅ kúm(-ú)*
 1SG bought yesterday
 'I bought (it) yesterday'

In some examples focus on the object is coded by the juxtaposition of an affirmative and a negative clause pertaining to the same event, where each clause has a different overt object. The following sentence is a Pévé translation of the English form 'he bought a cow, not a goat':

- (17) *mum tsóḅ ya nãw (pause) mum tsú tsóḅ ya hu mí*
 3M buy cow 3M NEG buy fem. goat NEG
 'he bought a cow; he did not buy a female goat'

3.3 *Focus on the Adjunct*

In the next three examples, focus on the temporal adjunct (see chapter 21) is marked by the clause-final impersonal pronoun *na*, which indicates that the adjunct is an independent equational clause (cf. chapter 11). The marker *ni* codes proximity to the time of speech. The English translation is intended to convey the meaning, though it may not reflect the order of constituents in Pévé:

- (18) *mgbaŋ ni na ì dà dē nùm ye*
 now PROX I.PRO 2PL.SBJV FUT call 3M.O PERM
 'it is **now** that you should call him'

- (19) *ì dà dē nùm kə fàtà ni na*
 2PL.SBJV FUT call 3M.O ASSC day PROX I.PRO
 'you will call him **this afternoon**'

- (20) *Taú tá lúmò kə bàkà ni na*
 T. go market ASSC morning PROX I.PRO
 'Tau went to the market **this morning**'

The sentence is acceptable without the sequence *ni na*, but there is no indication of focus:

- (21) *Tau tá lúmò kə bə̀kà*
 T. go market ASSC morning
 'Tau went to the market this morning'

4 Conclusion

A non-subject constituent is topicalized by fronting. The role of the topicalized constituent as the inanimate direct object of the comment clause is not overtly marked within the clause. When the fronted non-subject argument is not the direct object of the comment clause, the argument is marked by the phrase *dàn* Noun DED, where DED is a deducible reference marker indicating the gender of the head (i.e. topicalized) noun. The topicalized subject of a verbal clause may be marked as the head of a relative clause, with the grammatical role of the topicalized subject indicated by a resumptive pronoun within the comment clause. Another means of indicating topicalization is a pause after the topicalized constituent.

Pévé does not distinguish between contrastive and non-contrastive focus. Means of coding focus include the preposition *kə* followed by the relative marker *mə* and a resumptive pronoun referring to the focused constituent; overt marking of a constituent that is normally understood, such as the previously mentioned inanimate direct object; and the impersonal pronoun *na*, which places the constituent in focus by marking it as an independent clause.

Conjoined Clauses

1 Introduction

The examination of forms used in natural discourse reveals several means of conjoining clauses in Pévé. These include a coordinating conjunction, which may involve one or more conjunctive morphemes, and coordination through subject omission. Unlike many Chadic languages, Pévé has a dedicated coordinating conjunction *ḡay*, corresponding to ‘and’, which conjoins clauses that involve shared participants or events. The same conjunction can be used as a discourse connector or propositional relator, whose function is to introduce ‘an addendum to the act of speaking rather than a continuation of the propositional content of the preceding sentence’ (Frajzyngier and Katriel 1991: 452). The conjunction *ámá* ‘but’, an Arabic borrowing that is common in Chadic languages, indicates that the event of the second clause is unexpected.

2 Conjunction *ḡay*

The conjunction *ḡay* conjoins two clauses that are part of the same narrative. While the source of the conjunction *ḡay* is not obvious, the form is clearly not a borrowing from Fulfulde or Mundang. Unlike coordinating conjunctions in some languages, *ḡay* does not function as a nominal conjunction. In all but one natural discourse example clauses conjoined by *ḡay* are independent clauses and each clause has its own subject noun or pronoun. The subject of the second clause is omitted in one natural discourse example and also in some elicited examples.

Clauses conjoined by *ḡay* often describe sequential events involving the same participants:

- (1) *mum ti kwá ḡay mum ndé fyen-e*
 3M eat thing CONJ 3M fall sleep.N
 ‘he ate and then he slept’

Prosodic evidence makes it clear that *ḡay* is a component of the second clause, not the first clause, as there is frequently a drop in intonation and a pause (marked by ‘...’) before the marker *ḡay*:

- (2) *na báriba ... baynàndéfyen háaa*
na bá rì ba ... bay na ndé fyèn há
 1SG lie down place lying (N) CONJ 1SG fall sleep until
ndzike vaɬ məriyà
ndzike vaɬ mə riyà
 iron five REL afternoon
 'I lay down and I slept until five o'clock in the afternoon.'

In the examples above, the conjoined clauses share a common subject. In discourse, the conjunction *bay* may introduce a sentence that shares nothing with the preceding sentence other than the fact that both are part of the same narrative. The discourse connector function of *bay* thus resembles the secondary function of English markers such as 'and', 'also', 'so', 'anyway', 'but' (see Frajzyniegi and Katriel 1991). The discourse connector function of *bay* is illustrated in the following pairs of consecutive sentences from natural texts:

- (3) a. *nambà ʔyá ti ... kə ndzikèt (error) əə ndzike vaɬ*
nambà ʔyá ti kə ndzike ɬ əə ndzike vaɬ
 1PL leave PROX ASSC iron (error) uh iron five
mə riyà
mə riyà
 REL evening
 'We left here at five o'clock in the evening.'
- b. *baybwò syé báyrúm*
bay biwò syé báyrúm
 CONJ rain fall much
 'And it rained a lot.'

Following is another discourse pair where there are no shared arguments in the clauses conjoined by *bay*:

- (4) a. *nambà gá v̂ ʒye nəndəgandzikee ... syádǎ?*
nambà gáy? vun ʒye nə daka ndzike sedǎ?
 1PL stay mouth river DED.M from iron seven
har day ndzike váɬ mənən bəkà
há dáy ndzike váɬ mə vun bəkà
 until arrive iron five REL mouth morning
 'We stayed by the riverbank from seven o'clock until five o'clock in the morning.'

- b. *bay mota mənahã rawtirùm*
bay mota mā ni na han rawti rùm
 CONJ car (Ful.) REL PRO 1SG there inside 3M.POSS
na (pause) zá? tsúwál zye nəkəndzìkè fədí? màgà?
n-a zá? tsúwál zè nə kə ndzìke fədí? mā
 POST-FV find cross river DED.M ASSC iron four REL
bàka
gà? bàkà
 side morning
 'Then the car that I was sitting in there managed to cross the river at
 four o'clock in the morning.'

When clauses conjoined by *bay* have the same subject, the subject of the second clause can be omitted:

- (5) *mota nyén dapà ga? tɸibáyrum báiyén dàpà ga? ...*
mòta nyen dapà ga? ti báyrúm bay nyen dapa ga?
 car (Ful.) fill bank side PROX much CONJ fill bank side
day? báyrúm tò?ò (error)¹ tà?-à
dáy? báyrúm tò? tà?-à
 DIST.F much near also-FV
 'Cars filled the banks on this side and (they) filled that side (the other side)
 as well.'
- (6) *ta dí fún bay gi tsoɓ rùm wá lúmò*
 3F cook food CONJ sell 3M.POSS PREP market
 'she cooks food and (she) sells it at the market'

3 Counterexpectation

The conjunction *amá*, an Arabic borrowing commonly used in Chadic languages, indicates that the clause that follows is not the expected outcome of the preceding clause. The same-subject participant is overtly marked in both clauses:

¹ The use of the adverbial *tò?*, meaning 'near the speaker', is an error when used with the phrase *ga? day?* 'that side'. However, the adverbial *tò?* can be used with the phrase *ga? ti* 'this side'.

- (7) *na gāk ùm zà? kàzǎ si àmá nà tsù gāk mì*
 1SG can 3M.O find CF ASSERT but 1SG NEG can NEG
 'I should have been able to find him, but I couldn't.'
- (8) *mum tsób ya nǎw àmá mum tsú tsób hu mì*
 3M buy cow but (Ar.) 3M NEG buy goat NEG
 'he bought a cow but he did not buy a goat' (for 'he bought a cow, not a goat')
- (9) *ta ké báyy kum àmá tám ta tsú báyy za? mi*
 3F PROG pretty yesterday but (Ar.) today 3F NEG pretty still NEG
 'she used to be pretty, but she is not pretty anymore'

4 Conclusion

The conjunction *bay* conjoins clauses referring to sequential events that may or may not involve the same participants. When clauses conjoined by *bay* have the same subject, the subject marker in the second clause can be omitted. The conjunction *bay* also functions as a discourse connector or propositional relator indicating that the sentence that follows is part of the same narrative or speech act as the preceding sentence. The conjunction *àmá*, borrowed from Arabic, conjoins complete clauses and indicates that the second clause is not the expected outcome of the first clause.

Relative Clauses

1 Introduction

A relative clause is defined here as a clause whose function is to modify a head noun. Characteristics of relative clauses in Pévé include the following: The head noun is the first component of the relative clause. The relative marker *mà* (glossed 'REL') immediately follows the head noun and may then be followed by a resumptive pronoun (glossed 'R.PRO') reflecting the gender and number of the head of the relative clause. The resumptive pronouns are *ti* (fem.) and *ni* (masc. or pl.), identical with the proximal deictic demonstratives and determiners described in chapter 12. The head noun and the relative clause together form a noun phrase whose grammatical role in a larger construction is marked by a preposition or by the position of the relative clause with respect to other constituents.

In some cases, but not all, the relative clause is followed by one of the deducible reference markers *rə* (f.), *nə* (m.), or *kunə* (pl.), described in chapter 12. As shown in chapter 12, the deducible reference marker tells the listener that the referent can be deduced but does not indicate a particular domain of reference. The relative clause before the deducible reference marker provides information about the head noun and thereby narrows the scope of reference.

This chapter describes (a) the means of marking grammatical functions within the relative clause, and (b) the means of marking the grammatical role of the relative clause within a larger construction. Sections below are arranged according to the grammatical role of the head noun within the relative clause, not the role of the relative clause within the larger construction. The latter is described as necessary in each section. For clarity, all relative clauses are bracketed in this chapter.

2 Subject Head

2.1 *Relative Marker and Resumptive Pronoun*

When the head of the relative clause serves as the subject of the relative clause, the structure of the relative clause is Subject Relative marker Resumptive pronoun Verb (Object). When the relative clause functions as the subject of the

larger construction, the relative clause precedes the main verb. In the next example the resumptive pronoun *ti* refers to the head of the relative clause:

- (1) [*ma mà ti dǐ fun*]
 woman REL R.PRO cook food
 ‘the woman who cooked the food ...’

The resumptive pronoun *ni* after the relative marker *mà* may refer to either a masculine singular head or a plural head of unspecified gender. As shown in later sections, the resumptive pronoun is not associated with any particular grammatical function within the relative clause or the larger construction:

- (2) a. [*swə mà ni dām so màn dām so*]
 man/person REL R.PRO build house 1SG.POSS build house
um tàʔà
 3M.POSS also
 ‘the person who built my house built his house, too’

Cf. the plural:

- b. [*sōwǎ mà ni dām so màn*] *dām so um*
 people REL R.PRO build house 1SG.POSS build house 3M.POSS
tàʔ-à
 also-FV
 ‘the people who built my house built his house, too’

When the relative clause itself functions as the object within a larger construction, the relative clause follows the main verb. As shown in later sections, this is true regardless of the role of the relative head (bolded) within the relative clause:

- (3) *na wé* [***má*** *mà ti dǐ fun*]
 1SG see woman REL R.PRO cook food
 ‘I saw the woman who cooked the food’

2.2 Deducible-Reference Marker

The end of the relative clause is often marked by a deducible-reference marker (DED) reflecting the gender of the head of the relative clause. The marker often has low tone, probably due to end-of-clause prosody. As shown in chapter 12, the function of the deducible-reference markers *rə* (f.), *nə* (m.), or *kunə* (pl.) is

to tell the listener to deduce the referent of the head of the clause. When the deducible reference marker follows a relative clause, the function of the relative clause is to narrow the scope of reference:

- (4) [yá náw mà bú rə] mà ná n-á
 cow REL white DED.F REL 1SG I.PRO-FV
 'it is the white cow (lit. 'the cow that is white') that is mine'

Evidence that the deducible reference marker is not a resumptive pronoun is that the two markers can co-occur:

- (5) [swə mà ni té nən mbá ti kə ndi nə] bay
 man REL R.PRO take 1SG come here ASSC 3SG.O DED.M friend
 màn-à
 1SG.POSS-FV
 'the man who brought me here (lit. 'took me [and] came here with me')
 is my friend'

Frajzyngier 1996 shows that in some Chadic languages the presence or absence of a marker at the end of the relative clause is connected with the referential status of the head of the relative clause, e.g. whether the head of the relative clause is visible, previously mentioned, or known to the listener. As shown in the following examples, the post-relative marker in Pévé does not encode such distinctions:

a. Known referent, followed by the phrase-final impersonal pronoun *nə* (underlying form *na*). Use of the phrase-final marker is optional:

- (6) na wé [swə mà ni mbá kə rù ti (nə)] sí
 1SG know man REL R.PRO come ASSC 2M here DED.M ASSERT
 'I know the man who brought you here'

b. Unknown referent, which may also be followed by the impersonal pronoun *nə*:

- (7) mùm díum wa [swə mà ni mbá kə rùm ti
 3M forget man REL R.PRO come ASSC 3M.POSS PROX
 (nə)] sí
 DED.M ASSERT
 'he forgot who brought it here'

3 Object Head

The term ‘object head’ means that the head of the relative clause, i.e. the argument followed by *mà*, has the function of object within the relative clause. The relative marker *mà* is usually followed by the resumptive pronoun *tí* or *ní*, evidence that the resumptive pronoun is not associated with any particular grammatical function.

Because the head of the relative clause is always the first component of the relative clause, the role of a non-subject head within the relative clause must be deduced from the presence or absence of other arguments within the relative clause. In the following example, the role of *kwáti* ‘food’ as object within the relative clause is deduced from the presence of the subject pronoun *ta* before the verb in the relative clause, resulting in the form O REL R.PRO S V (DED):

- (8) [*kwáti mà ní ta gí nà*] *kadám-á*
 food REL R.PRO 3F make DED.M good-FV
 ‘the food that she prepared is good’

Similarly, in the next example the object role of *kwá* ‘thing’ is deduced from the presence of the subject pronoun *nambà* before the verb within the relative clause:

- (9) [*kwá mà tà kà syem mà ní nambà wé nà*] *kəlìŋ*
 thing REL go ASSC feet REL R.PRO 1PL see DED.M rat
n-á
 I.PRO-FV
 ‘the animal (‘thing that walks on legs’) that we saw is a rat’

In the preceding examples the relative clause functions as the subject of the larger construction, in each case a verbless identificational predication (see chapter 11). When the larger construction containing the relative clause involves a predicate, the function of the relative clause as subject of the larger construction is indicated by the position of the relative clause before the main verb:

- (10) [*má mà tí ha wé rə*] *mbá si*
 woman REL R.PRO 2M saw DED.F come REL
 ‘the woman you saw has come’

A relative clause that is the object of the larger construction is marked by its position after the main verb. In the following examples the relative clause is the object of the larger construction and the head of the relative clause is the object within the relative clause:

- (11) *ná túk [kwátí mə ní tá gí nə kədámá]*
 1SG feel food REL R.PRO 3F do DED.M good
 'I liked the food that she prepared.'
- (12) *na tsób [ndáʔ mə uráʔ-a]*
 1SG bought horse REL black-FV
 'I bought a black horse ('horse that is black') or 'I bought the black horse'
- (13) *handây fól ya năw mə kə gáb kunə tsóp-ó*
 3PL slaughter cow REL ASSC illness PL first-FV
 'they slaughter the sick cows (lit. 'cows that are with illness') first'

The head of the relative clause can function as indirect object within the relative clause. The role of the head as indirect object is deduced from the fact that the verb in the relative clause is followed by two arguments (see *sə* (3F.O) and *derwa* 'book' in example 14, below). As shown in chapter 6, when two arguments follow the verb, the first argument after the verb has the function of indirectly affected object, in this case the recipient. Note that the indirect object head of the relative clause is represented by the resumptive pronoun *tí*:

- (14) *na wə gi lekol wanji kə [vay ma mə tí na
 1SG IMPF do school together ASSC child female REL R.PRO 1SG
 ne sə derwa naʔ-a]*
 give 3F.O book I.PRO-FV
 'I go to the same school as the girl to whom I gave a book'

As shown in the preceding and following examples, the relative clause may function as the object of a preposition within the larger construction. As is the case with other prepositional phrases, the relative clause follows the preposition:

- (15) *múm mbá kə [kwá mə ní há né nùm nə sɪ]*
 3M come ASSC thing REL R.PRO 2M give 3M DED.M EE
 'he brought (lit. 'came with') the things that you gave him'

4 Adjunct Head

The head of the relative clause may function as an adjunct within the relative clause, where ‘adjunct’ means a lexical item, phrase, or clause that can be added to almost any construction (see chapter 21). The role of the head as addressee within the relative clause is marked by the associative preposition *kə* followed by a pronoun from the set coding inalienable possession/object of a preposition (see chapter 5). The function of the relative clause as subject of the larger construction is marked, as elsewhere, by the position of the relative clause before the main verb:

- (16) [*má mə ti na ge dən mə kə sə wə*
 woman REL R.PRO 1SG speak (‘throw words’) REL ASSC 3F PREP
Maroua rə mbá si
 M. DED.F] come ASSERT
 ‘the woman whom I talked with in Maroua has arrived’

The locative role of the head of the relative clause can be marked by the demonstrative *han*, which indicates anaphoric reference to a location that is not the place of speech (see chapter 12). When the head of the relative clause is a locative complement, the resumptive pronoun has the masculine/plural form *ní*:

- (17) *bay [mota mənahā rawtirum]*
bay [mota mə ní na han rawti rùm]
 CONJ car (Ful.) REL PRO 1SG there inside 3M.POSS
na (pause) zá? tsúwál zye nəkəndzikè fədí? mägà?
n-a zá? tsúwál zè nə kə ndzike fədí? mə
 POST-FV find cross river DED.M ASSC iron four REL
bàka
gà? bàka
 side morning
 ‘Then the car that I was sitting in there managed to cross the river at four o’clock in the morning.’

Like other relative clauses, the clause with a locative head may be followed by a deducible reference marker (in bold). As elsewhere, the object role of the relative clause in the larger sentence is marked by the position of the relative clause after the main verb:

- (18) *mùm dǔm wa [ri mà ni mùm wé kwá mà tà kə*
 3M forget place REL R.PRO 3M see thing REL walk ASSC
syem] han nə sí
 foot there DED.M ASSERT
 'he forgot the place where he saw the animal'

5 Deictic Relative Clauses

In nearly all of the examples cited above there is a predicate within the relative clause. Exceptions are equational, identificational and other predications that are verbless as stand-alone clauses. When the relative clause does not contain a predicate, the resumptive pronouns *ni* and *ti* function as markers of proximal deixis, as in the following examples:

- (19) [*swə mà ni nə*] *púm nùm-u*
 man REL R.PRO DED.M hit 3M-FV
 'the man who is here hit him'

In the following sentence, the relative clause functions as the head of another relative clause:

- (20) [*ya nǎw mà ni kunə*] *mə handǎy n-á*
 cow REL R.PRO DED.PL REL 3PL.POSS I.PRO-FV
 'these cows ('cows that are here') are theirs ('that are theirs')'

It is very likely that the proximal demonstratives *ti* and *ni* are the source of the resumptive pronouns *ti* and *ni*. Evidence that *ti* and *ni* in a verbless relative clause have a function that is different from the function of *ti* and *ni* in a relative clause that involves a predicate is provided by the fact that the distal demonstratives *dáy?* (fem.) and *náy?* (masc.) can also be used in a verbless relative clause:

- (21) [*ya nǎw mə dáy? rə*] *mə mùm n-á*
 cow REL DIST.F DED.F REL 3M.POSS I.PRO-FV
 'that cow is his' (lit. 'the cow that is there is his')
- (22) [*mi mə náy?*] *su*
 what REL DIST.M Q
 'what is that?'

In natural discourse the relative marker *mə* is sometimes omitted before the deictic demonstrative. The significance of this variation remains to be explored:

- (23) à kat [sõwã (mə) náy? kun-a]
 2M look people (REL) DIST.M DED.PL-FV
 'look at those people ('people who are there')!'

The deducible reference marker can co-occur with the resumptive pronoun *ni* or *ti* in the deictic function, as it can in the non-deictic function:

- (24) [swə (mə) ni nə] púm nùm-u
 man REL R.PRO DED.M hit 3M-FV
 'this man ('man who is here') hit him'

6 Conclusion

The basic form of the relative clause is Noun REL R.PRO ... (DED), where Noun is the head of the relative clause, REL is the relative marker *mə*, R.PRO is a resumptive pronoun that reflects the number and gender (if singular) of the head of the relative clause, and DED is a deducible-reference determiner from the set *rə* (fem.), *nə* (masc.), and *kunə* (pl.), described in chapter 12. The presence of the deducible-reference determiner at the end of the relative clause indicates that the function of the clause is to narrow the scope of reference for the hearer. The resumptive pronouns *ti* and *ni* are probably derived from the proximal deictic demonstratives discussed in chapter 12. Evidence for this is that *ti* or *ni* functions as a deictic demonstrative in a relative clause that does not contain a predicate. In all instances, the syntactic function of the relative clause within the larger construction is indicated by the position of the relative clause with respect to the main verb and by the presence or absence of other arguments in the larger construction.

Conditional and Temporal Constructions

1 Introduction

Conditional and temporal constructions in Pévé share the same basic structure, Protasis+Apodosis, where the protasis clause provides the conditional or temporal setting for the event described by the apodosis clause. The conditional protasis clause is marked by the form *là?* and the clause-final assertive marker *si*. There is no designated marker for the conditional apodosis clause. The temporal protasis clause is marked by the clause-initial phrase *kəri məní*, sometimes reduced to *kəri* or *məní*. Like the conditional apodosis, the temporal apodosis has no designated marker. As shown below, the assertive marker *si* (see chapter 9) plays a role in protasis and apodosis clauses in both conditional and temporal constructions.

2 Conditional Constructions

The conditional construction in Pévé, as in many languages, describes a certain state or event (protasis) and the potential outcome or implications of the state or event (apodosis). The conditional protasis clause, which describes the initial state or event, is marked by the conditional marker *là?* and by use of the assertive marker *si* in clause-final position. The marker *là?*, no doubt derived from the verb *là?* ‘to say’, may occur immediately before or after the subject of the protasis, with no apparent distinction. Tense and aspect are marked in the conditional protasis and apodosis by the same means used in the independent clause:

- (1) *là?* *háŋ* *gí* *kwáti ndó?* *si* *nambà dà* *ti*
 COND 2F make food finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 ‘if you have finished cooking, we will eat’

or

- (2) *háŋ là?* *gí* *kwáti ndó?* *si* *nambà dà* *ti*
 2F COND make food finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 ‘if you have finished cooking, we will eat’

The order Subject COND appears to be favored in some unsolicited examples:

- (3) *ha la? mbá səday? si ha də fe hu*
 2M COND come day after tomorrow ASSERT 2M FUT get goat
hob-o ama ha la? mbá siw si ha də fe
 two-FV but 2M COND come tomorrow ASSERT 2M FUT get
dāw-a
 one-FV
 'If you come day after tomorrow you will get two goats. But if you come tomorrow, you will get one.'
- (4) *ha la? də mbə si a te sab wũ ba*
 2M COND FUT come ASSERT 2M.SBJV hold spear 2M.POSS hand
 'If [you] come here, hold your spear (in your hand).'

As shown in chapter 9, the assertive marker at the end of a simple sentence indicates that the speaker wants the hearer to believe in the reality of the event or state described by the sentence. In the conditional construction, the assertive marker at the end of the protasis clause advises the hearer to believe that the event or state described in the protasis has occurred, will occur, or may occur. The use of the assertive marker in the conditional clause is explained by the fact that consequences expressed in the apodosis will have no bearing if the hearer does not believe in the truth or reality of the protasis. The consequences of the protasis are described in the apodosis clause, which has the same form as the corresponding simple sentence:

- (5) *la? tsoḅ rum báyrúm si, i tsoḅ ga? ri məsin*
 COND buy 3M.POSS much ASSERT 2PL buy side place other
ye
 PERM
 'if its price is high, you can buy it somewhere else'

Cf. the simple sentence:

- (6) *i tsoḅ ga? ri məsin ye*
 2PL.SBJV buy side place other PERM
 'you can buy it somewhere else'

- (7) *háŋ là? gí kwáti ndó? si nambà dà ti*
 2F COND make food finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 'if you have finished cooking, we will eat'

Cf. the simple sentence:

- (8) *nambà dà ti*
 1PL FUT eat
 'we will eat'

As shown in the preceding examples, there is no dedicated marker of the conditional apodosis. There are, however, two types of conditional apodosis clauses: One that is followed by the assertive marker *si* and one that is not followed by the assertive marker. Both are described below.

When the apodosis involves the auxiliary verb *gàk* 'can, be able to' followed by another verb, the apodosis is followed by the marker *si*:

- (9) *na là? mbó sí na gà? əm za? si*
na là? mbó si na gāk ùm zà? si
 1SG COND come ASSERT 1SG can 3M.O find ASSERT
 'If I came here, I could find him.'

- (10) *mum là? gé ndo? sin um si mum gāk pemāy*
 3M COND finish work 3M.POSS ASSERT 3M can rest
si
 ASSERT
 'if he has finished his work, he can rest' [*gé ndo?* 'throw end']

The marker *si* may also follow the apodosis when the protasis describes a state or event that did not occur. In the next example, evidence that the event described by the protasis did not occur is provided by use of the counterfactual (CF) marker *kəzə* (see chapter 19) in the protasis clause. This provides evidence that the assertive marker indicates the speaker's desire that the hearer accept an 'if X, then Y' connection between the protasis and the apodosis rather than the speaker's belief in the real-world state or event:

- (11) *mum là? gbəgbóŋ kəzə báyrúm sí, kà mum kóra sinè*
 3M COND strong CF much ASSERT then 3M leave field
nə ndó? dáy sí
 DED.M finish arrive ASSERT
 'if he were very strong, he would have finished the field earlier'

The marker *si* does not follow an apodosis that is marked for the future tense. The explanation for this is that use of the future tense indicates the speaker's belief that an event or state will occur, so use of the assertive marker would result in reduplication:

- (12) *handày là? wá gí sin wándzì sí handày dà ndó?*
 3PL COND IMPF do work together ASSERT 3PL FUT finish
*finè rúm gá?rí *sí*
 field 3M.POSS quickly ASSERT
 'if they are working together, they will finish their field faster'

For the same reason *si* cannot follow the independent future clause:

- (13) *mum dà gewa Garoua síw *sí*
 3M FUT return G. tomorrow *ASSERT
 for 'he will return from Garoua tomorrow'

The assertive marker also does not occur when the apodosis is marked for another modality, such as obligation or permission. The fact that the assertive marker does not co-occur with other modality markers adds to the evidence that *si* itself is a marker of modality, since markers of different modalities cannot occur in the same clause. The marker *si* does not occur when the apodosis is marked with the clause-initial obligation marker *sáy*. The following sentence expresses the speaker's doubt in the subject's arrival:

- (14) *mum là? dà mbà kətá? si sáy? na gílá? tú*
 3M COND FUT come now REL OBLIG 1SG ready body
*rìn-ì *sí*
 1SG.POSS-FV ASSERT
 'if he comes, I must be ready'

The marker *si* also does not occur when the apodosis clause is marked for the subjunctive mood, as indicated by use of the subjunctive (SBJV) pronoun (see chapter 9):

- (15) *la? hí wá dà lumo sí, i dži wa*
 COND 2PL IMPF go market ASSERT 2PL.SBJV wait head
*rìn *sí*
 1SG.POSS ASSERT
 'if you (PL) are going to the market, wait for me'

The key components of the conditional construction are thus the conditional marker *là?* preceding or following the subject of the protasis, the assertive marker *si* at the end of the protasis, and the stand-alone nature of the apodosis.

3 Temporal Constructions

The temporal construction describes the temporal relationship between the event or state described by the protasis clause and the event or state described by the apodosis clause. While the conditional construction refers to a sequence of events, the temporal construction may or may not indicate a cause-and-effect relationship between the protasis and the apodosis.

In most cases the temporal protasis clause is marked by the clause-initial phrase *kəri (màni)*, derived from the associative preposition *kə* followed by the noun *ri* ‘time, place’, the relative marker *mə*, and the resumptive pronoun *ni* (see chapter 17). For simplicity the phrase *kəri məní* is usually glossed ‘when’. The end of the protasis clause may be unmarked or may be marked by the clause-final assertive marker *si*. Like the conditional apodosis, the temporal apodosis has the same form as the corresponding independent clause.

A temporal protasis clause referring to a single event usually begins with the phrase *kəri məní*. A temporal protasis clause in the perfective aspect, as marked by high tone on the verb, may be followed by the marker *si*, indicating the speaker’s belief that the event of the protasis took place:

- (16) *kəri məní handày gí sin ndày ndó? wə finè si*
 when 3PL do work 3PL.POSS finish PREP field ASSERT
handày géwa tá só ndày-a
 3PL return go house 3PL.POSS-FV
 ‘when they finished their work in the field, they went back home’

Use of the assertive marker after the perfective protasis is apparently optional, as indicated by the following elicited and natural discourse examples:

- (17) *kərí məní só vé kú handày wúr kə né*
 when house take fire 3PL exit (PL) ASSC run
 ‘when the house caught fire, they fled’ (lit. ‘they left with a run’)

- (18) *εε kəri mənì ... mum ʔín ne nùm ndá naʔ-a bròk*
εε kəri mənì mum ín ne nùm ndá naʔ-a brùk
 eh when 3M say ADP 3M like I.PRO-FV monitor lizard
gwaʔə ʔí və rùm-u syamdye wũ dyè maa su
gwaʔ ʔí vun rùm-u syemde wũ de má su
 then ask 3M.POSS-FV name 2M.POSS call what Q
 ‘When he told him that (lit. ‘said to him like that’), Monitor Lizard asked him, “What do they call you?”’

- (19) *kəri mənì handày kaw num handày faj mbə so*
 when 3PL catch, arrest 3M.O 3PL return come home
 ‘when they arrested him, they came back home’

Use of the unmarked aspect in the protasis indicates that the event was ongoing at the time of the event described by the apodosis. The unmarked aspect in the following example is indicated by use of the underlying verb forms *faj* and *da*, with no markers of tense or aspect:

- (20) *kəriməni mum fã da mum ndyéwa kə ... yii*
kəri mənì mum faj da mum ndewa kə ... yii
 when 3M repeat go 3M meet ASSC squirrel
 ‘On his way back home he ran into Squirrel.’

A protasis clause referring to a repeated event is marked by the adverbial *dájʔ* ‘all, every’ at the end of the protasis clause. The assertive marker *sì*, if present, precedes the adverbial marker:

- (21) *kəriməmlàʔ ʔwáy gáyʔ sì dájʔ mum pá*
kəri mənì mum làʔ ʔwáy dájʔ sì dájʔ mum par
 when 3M COND win game ASSERT all 3M remove
váy gayʔ dǎw mum pyé wà ne kə dzənàk kə
vay gayʔ dǎw mum pé wa ne kə dzənàk kə
 child game one 3M hit head ADP ASSC guinea fowl ASSC
ndi
ndi
 3SG.O
 ‘Each time he won the game, he took a playing piece (*vay gayʔ*) and hit a guinea fowl on the head with it.’

Unlike the conditional apodosis, the temporal apodosis is rarely followed by *si*. This provides further evidence that the final *si* in the conditional apodosis indicates the speaker's certainty with respect to the relationship between the event/state of the protasis and the event/state of the apodosis rather than the speaker's certainty that an event/state actually occurred:

- (22) *kəri mənɪ ta ɡéndoʔ sin só ta pemãʔ(-a)*
 DEM REL 3F finish work 3F.POSS 3F rest(-FV)
 'when she finished her work, she rested'

- (23) *kəri mənɪ naʔdáy só mən na tʃík báyrúm*
kəri mənɪ na tá dáy só mən na tʃík báyrúm
 when 1SG go arrive house 1SG.POSS 1SG tire (V) much
 'When I got home I was very tired.'

In elicited sentences of the same type the use of *si* is considered unacceptable in the temporal apodosis:

- (24) *kəri mənɪ handáy ɡí sin ndáy ndóʔ wə ʃinə si*
 when 3PL do work 3PL.POSS finish PREP field ASSERT
*handáy ɡéwa tá só ndáy-a *si*
 3PL return go house 3PL.POSS-FV ASSERT
 for 'when they finished their work, they went back home'

- (25) *kəri mənɪ ta ɡéndoʔ sin só ta pemãʔ *si*
 DEM REL 3F finish work 3F.POSS 3F rest *ASSERT
 for 'when she finished her work, she rested'

In all of the examples above the event or state described by the apodosis immediately follows the event or state described by the protasis. When there is a temporal gap between the events of the protasis and the apodosis, the protasis may be marked by the adverbial *dayna* 'after' in place of the form *kəri* ('at the time of'). The form *mənɪ* (Relative marker + Resumptive pronoun) is retained:

- (26) *dayna mənɪ ta ɡítsob hu ta tsób mbraw-a*
 after when 3F sell goat 3F bought clothes-FV
 'after she sold the goat, she bought a dress'

When the event described by the protasis occurred at a previously described point in time, the marker *kəri* may be followed by the possessive pronoun *rùm* rather than the marker *màni*. The possessive pronoun refers to a specific point in time that has been described in previous discourse:

- (27) *kəri rùm brùk fǎŋ (error) fǎŋé (error) fǎŋyá*
kəri rùm brùk fǎŋ fǎŋ ʒé fǎŋ ʒyá
 then 3M.POSS monitor lizard repeat repeat pass go back
nùm-u
nùm-u
 3M.O-FV
 ‘At that point Monitor Lizard headed back, departed.’ (Monitor Lizard’s departure has already been described)

When the event of the protasis has already occurred at a specific point in time, the apodosis may be followed by the assertive marker:

- (28) *kəri rùm ndây fǎŋ kàw nùm ndây faŋ*
kəri rùm [ha]ndây fǎŋ kaw nùm ndây faŋ
 when 3M.POSS 3PL arrest (‘repeat grab’) 3M.O 3PL repeat
mbə so si
mbə so si
 come home ASSERT
 ‘When they arrested him they came back home.’

4 Conclusion

Conditional and temporal constructions share the property of having a protasis clause that sets the condition or time frame for the apodosis clause. The conditional protasis is marked by the morpheme *làʔ*, corresponding to ‘if’, either before or after the subject noun or pronoun, along with the assertive marker *sí* at the end of the protasis. The temporal protasis, in contrast, is marked by one of a number of temporal expressions, the most common of which is *kəri màni* ‘when’. Distinctions coded in temporal protasis clauses include completion of the event before the apodosis, the ongoing nature of the event before or during the apodosis, a specific point in time, and perhaps others. There is no dedicated marker of the conditional or temporal apodosis, both of which have the same form as the corresponding independent clauses. The conditional apodosis may be followed by the assertive marker *sí*, provided the apodosis is not marked for

any other modality or for the future tense. The use of the assertive marker in the temporal protasis appears to be optional, and there few instances of the assertive marker in the temporal apodosis.

Complementation

1 Introduction

This chapter describes constructions involving a matrix clause and a complement clause that may function as an independent clause, an argument of the matrix-clause verb, or a modifier of the matrix-clause verb. Included are clausal complements of verbs of saying, cognition, perception, and volition, as well as modifying complements of verbs corresponding to ‘to be able’, ‘to start’, ‘to finish’, ‘to spend the day/night’, ‘to help’, and ‘to make’.

Unlike in many languages, constructions in Puvé involving frequently used verbs of saying do not necessarily distinguish between direct and indirect speech. However, constructions involving verbs of cognition and perception do code a distinction between direct and indirect cognition or perception. With verbs of perception and volition, and also with the verb ‘to ask’, a distinction is drawn between complements in the realm of the real world (*de re* complements) and complements in the domain of speaking (*de dicto* complements) (cf. Frajzyngier and Jaspersen 1991, Frajzyngier and Shay 2003). As shown in sections 2.3 and 3 below, the coding means for the domain *de dicto* overlap with the means of coding indirect perception.

The first part of the chapter describes the means of marking the addressee and complement of simple and compound verbs of saying and the means of marking tense, aspect and mood within the complement. The second part of the chapter is devoted to constructions involving verbs of perception, cognition, volition, and ability, in which the complement functions as a modifier of the main verb.

Puvé has grammaticalized what may be a unique function, that of indicating that the speaker’s desire or belief expressed in the matrix clause was unrealized. This function, called the ‘counterfactual matrix’, is coded by the complementizer *kàzà*, as described in section 7 below.

2 Verbs of Saying

Simple verbs of saying in Puvé include the verbs *làʔ* ‘to say, to tell’, *in* ‘to speak, to talk’, *ó* ‘to ask for’, *dám* ‘to reply, to answer’, and others. Frequently used compound verbs of saying, which consist of a verb followed by a noun, include

tʃi vun ‘to ask someone’ (lit. ‘ask mouth’), *dám vun* ‘to answer a question, to reply to someone’ (lit. ‘answer mouth’), *in dàn* ‘to say something, to talk’ (lit. ‘say word’), and other verbs. This section focuses on the most commonly used forms, including *là?* ‘to say, to tell’, *in* ‘to speak’, *tsi vun* ‘to ask’ and *dám vun* ‘to answer’.

2.1 *Marking the Addressee*

The means of marking the addressee of a verb of saying depends on two factors: (a) whether the addressee is represented by a noun or by a pronoun, and (b) whether the verb is a simple verb or a compound verb consisting of a verb followed by a noun.

The pronominal addressee of a simple verb is marked in the same way as an indirect object pronoun with the semantic role of beneficiary, recipient, or malefactive (cf. chapter 7). As is the case in simple clauses involving an indirect object, the choice of pronoun and the presence of the adposition *ne* depend on the tense and aspect of the main clause. In a perfective clause with an inherent verb of saying, the pronominal addressee is marked by an object from the perfective set, preceded by the adposition *ne*:

- (1) *na ín ne nù*
 1SG say ADP 2M.O
 ‘I spoke to you’
- (2) *ta ín ne nùm tá ʔyá yé*
 3F say ADP 3M.O 3F.SBJV leave PERM
 ‘she₁ told him she₂ should leave’

The nominal addressee, like the nominal indirect object in other types of predications (see chapters 6, 7), is marked by the associative preposition *kə* after the adposition *ne*:

- (3) *mum lá? ne ká brùk na mum gewa mbà*
 3M say ADP ASSC monitor lizard-FV I.PRO 3M come back
səday?
 two days later
 ‘He told Monitor Lizard he should come back in two days.’

The addressee of a compound verb is marked differently from the addressee of a simple verb. The verbs *tʃi vun* ‘to ask’ and *dám vun* ‘to answer’ are compounds consisting of a verb followed by the noun *vun* ‘mouth’. The pronom-

inal addressee of the compound verb is marked by an inalienable possessive pronoun rather than an object pronoun, probably because the nominal constituent of some compound verbs is a body-part noun. The possessive pronoun immediately follows the noun:

- (4) *mum tsí vun rìn i na wé vun Pévé sí sú?*
 3M ask 1SG.POSS COMP 1SG know mouth P. ASSERT Q
 'he asked me if I knew the Pévé language'
- (5) *mum dām vun rùm-u mà na tsú mi*
 3M answer 3M.POSS-FV REL 1SG NEG NEG
 'He answered him, "It wasn't mine!"'

2.2 Coreferentiality vs. Non-coreferentiality

As shown in Frajzyngier 1996, some Chadic languages differentiate between coreferentiality and non-coreferentiality (also called disjoint reference) with respect to (a) the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the complement clause, and (b) the addressee of the matrix clause and the subject of the complement clause. Pévé has a grammatical means of indicating whether or not the subject of the matrix clause is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. As shown below, this applies only when the complement clause is in the subjunctive mood.

When the pronominal subject of the matrix clause and the pronominal subject of the indicative complement clause have the same values for person, gender, and number, the same pronoun form can be used to mark the subject in both clauses. Coreferentiality or lack of coreferentiality with respect to the two subject pronouns depends on context:

- (6) *mum lá? i mum dɜ́wa*
 3M said COMP 3M chief
 'he₁ said that he_{1/2} is chief'
- (7) *tá ín í tá kái káva sá-a*
 3M say COMP 3M break hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 'she₁ said she_{1/2} broke her hoe'

There is also no means of marking coreferentiality or non-coreferentiality when the subject of the matrix clause is a noun and the subject of the indicative complement is a pronoun:

- (8) *Kói ín í mùm gáo n-a*
 K. say COMP 3M hunter I.PRO-FV
 'Koi said that he (Koi) is a hunter' or 'Koi said that he (someone else) is a hunter'

While there is no overt means of coding coreferentiality of the two subjects in the indicative mood, the subject of the complement clause can be omitted when it shares the person, gender and number of the matrix clause subject. When the subject of the complement clause is omitted, the assumption is that the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the complement clause refer to the same entity:

- (9) *mùm lá? í na (mùm) tá? tu rùm né nà*
 3SG say COMP I.PRO 3M show body 3M PREP 1SG.O
sí
 ASSERT
 'He₁ said that (he₁) would show himself to me.'

When the complement clause is in the subjunctive mood, as defined in chapter 9, Puvé does make a distinction between coreferentiality and non-coreferentiality between the pronominal subject of the matrix clause and the pronominal subject of the complement. When the subject of the complement clause shares the person, gender and number value of the subject of the matrix clause but is not coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause, the subject of the complement clause is marked by a subject pronoun from the subjunctive set (see chapter 6):

- (10) *ta ín ne nùm tá ʔyá yé*
 3F say ADP 3M.O 3F.SBJV leave PERM
 'she₁ told him she₂ should/could leave'
- (11) *mum ín ne nùm nə ʔyá yé*
 3M say ADP 3M.O 3M.SBJV leave PERM
 'he₁ told him he₂ should/could leave'

The subjunctive pronoun is also used when the subject of the matrix and the subject of the complement do not share person, gender and number:

- (12) *mùm lá? á fàŋ mbə tám kádàn ve səlày*
 3M say 1SG.SBJV return today PURP collect money

màn-a

1PL.POSS-FV

'He said I should come back today to collect my money.'

The evidence that the subjunctive pronoun in the complement marks non-coreferentiality rather than the subjunctive nature of the complement is that when the subject of the subjunctive complement clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause, the same pronoun form is used in both clauses. In other words, when the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the complement clause have the same referent, the subjunctive mood of the complement clause cannot be marked by the choice of subject pronoun. This leaves the clause-final particle, such as *yé* (permission, obligation), as the only means of marking the subjunctive mood in the complement:

Coreferential subject (fem.):

- (13) *ta ín ne nùm ta ʔá yé*
 3F say ADP 3M.O 3F leave PERM
 'she₁ told him she₁ could leave'

Coreferential subject (masc.):

- (14) *mum ín ne nùm mum ʔá yé*
 3M say ADP 3M.O 3M leave PERM
 'he₁ told him he₁ could leave'

Coreferentiality of the subject of the complement and matrix clauses can be emphasized by the use of a coreferential non-perfective object pronoun after the subject of the complement:

- (15) *ta ín ne nùm ta sə ʔá yé*
 3F say ADP 3M.O 3F 3F.O leave PERM
 'she₁ told him she₁ could leave'
- (16) *mum ín ne nùm mum um ʔá yé*
 3M say ADP 3M.O 3M 3M.O leave PERM
 'he₁ told him he₁ could leave'

There appears to be no means of indicating the referential relationship between the addressee of the matrix clause and the subject of the comple-

ment clause. When the addressee and the subjunctive complement have the same reference, the subject of the complement is marked by a pronoun from the subjunctive set:

- (17) *hándày ín ne mbà mó òyá sí*
 3PL say ADP 1PL 1PL.SBJV leave EE
 ‘they told us we should leave’

The subject of the complement is also marked by a pronoun from the subjunctive set when the addressee and the subjunctive complement do not have the same reference:

- (18) *àŋ la? sá nà mbà ye*
 2F say 3F 3M come SUBJ
 ‘you (fem.) tell her that he should come’

When the complement is in the indicative mood there is no distinction between the coreferentiality and lack of coreferentiality of the addressee and the subject of the complement. This is also true of the subject of the complement (*Gwà*) and the possessor within the complement (‘his hoe’):

- (19) *Taú ín ne kə Gwà i mum díúm wa káva ùmù*
 T. say ADP ASSC G. COMP 3M forget hoe 3M.POSS
 ‘Tau₁ told Gwa₂ that he (_{1,2}) forgot his (_{1,2}) hoe’

2.3 Complementizers and Verbs of Saying

In constructions consisting of a matrix clause followed by a complement, the complement may or may not be preceded by a complementizer. Unlike in some Chadic languages, such as Lele (East Chadic; Frajzyngier 2001), the presence or form of a complementizer following a verb of saying in Pèvé does not necessarily depend on whether the complement represents direct or indirect speech.

Markers used in constructions involving a matrix-clause verb of saying include the inherent complementizer *i* and the impersonal pronoun *na* (see chapter 11). Use of an impersonal pronoun as a complementizer in Pèvé is much like the use of the English form ‘that’, which may function as either a pronoun or a complementizer depending on position and context. The Pèvé form *na*, which may occur independently or may be preceded by the complementizer *i*, functions as a complementizer with only a small set of verbs, including *là?* ‘to say, to tell’, *ín* ‘to speak, to tell’, and *dík* ‘to believe’ (see section 4, below). The

complementizer *i* is attested with verbs of cognition, perception, and volition as well as with verbs of saying, as shown in later sections.

2.3.1 The Verb *la?* 'to Say, to Tell'

In some natural discourse and elicited examples involving the verb *la?* with a direct-speech complement, the complement (in brackets) is unmarked, i.e. not preceded by a complementizer:

- (20) *mum lá? ne nùm [ha lá? mbə si ha màn yè*
 3M say ADP 3M.O 2M COND come ASSERT 2M 1SG.O know
sí]
 ASSERT
 'He told him, "If you come here, you will know me."'

- (21) *mum lá? [hà té dǎbǎ? màn kúmú]*
 3M say 2M take tobacco 1SG.POSS yesterday
 'He said, "You took my tobacco yesterday."'

- (22) *ta lá? [wa rù fól-ó]*
 3F say head 2M.POSS whitish-FV
 'He said, "Your head is whitish."'

There are also natural discourse and elicited examples in which the direct-speech complement of the verb *la?* is marked by the impersonal pronoun *na*, evidence that the presence or absence of a complementizer does not mark the difference between direct and indirect speech:

- (23) *yii lá? ne nùm na à gewa*
 squirrel said PREP 3M.O I.PRO 2M.SBJV go back
 'Squirrel said to him, "Go back!"'

Some indirect-speech complements are not marked by a complementizer, while other indirect-speech complements are marked by *na*:

- (24) *məm lá?á fāmbə tám kədàn ve səle*
mùm lá? á fāŋ mbə tám kədàn ve səlày
 3M say 1SG.SBJV return today PURP collect money
màn-a
màn-a
 1PL.POSS-FV
 'He said I should come again today to collect my money.'

- (25) *mum lá? na wa rùm fol-o*
 3M say I.PRO head 3M.POSS whitish-FV
 'he said that his head is whitish'

- (26) *na lá? na i mbà ye*
 1SG say I.PRO 2PL.SBJV come PERM
 'I said that you could come'

In at least one instance in natural discourse, the forms *i* and *na* co-occur after the matrix verb *lá?*:

- (27) *mùm lá? i na (mùm) tá? tu rùm né nàn*
 3SG say COMP I.PRO 3M show body 3M PREP 1SG.O
sí
 ASSERT
 'He said that (he) would show himself to me.'

In summary, the presence or absence of the markers (*i*) *na* after the matrix verb *lá?* is not determined by whether the complement represents direct or indirect speech.

2.3.2 The Verb *in* 'to Say, to Speak'

In natural discourse and in elicited examples involving the matrix verb *in* 'to speak, to say', the direct-speech complement of *in* is sometimes marked by the complementizer *na*:

- (28) *εε ... brùku [corr: dzènak] gòwà? in ùm ne na (pause)*
εε ... brùk dzènak gwa? in ùm ne na
 eh monitor lizard guinea fowl then say 3M.O ADP I.PRO
à kari? bay nambà ne tfet mbà
à kar ri? bay nambà ni tfet mbà
 2M.SBJV look already friend 1PL PROX all 1PL.POSS
folfol dáη?
folfol dáη?
 white.white all
 'The guinea fowl says to him, "Look, friend, all of us here have whitish heads.'"

In other cases the direct-speech complement of *in* is unmarked:

- (29) *tá ín né nùm-ú à tsòb mbàràw né nànn mì*
 3F say ADP 3M.O-FV 2M.SBJV buy clothing ADP 1SG.O NEG
 'she told him, "Do not buy me any clothing!"'

The indirect-speech complement is sometimes marked by the complementizer *i*. The complement has the form of an independent clause regardless of whether or not the main verb and complement share the same subject:

- (30) *Kói ín i mum kái káva ùm-ù*
 K. say COMP 3M break hoe 3M.POSS-FV
 'Koi₁ said he_{1,2} broke his_{1,2} hoe'
- (31) *Goua ín né kə Táó í tá dǔm wá káva ùm-ù*
 G. say ADP ASSC break COMP 3F forget hoe 3M.POSS-FV
 'Gwa told Tau that she (Gwa or a third party) forgot his hoe'

There are also examples in which the indirect-speech complement of *in* is not marked:

- (32) *handày ín ne mbà má ɣá só sí*
 3PL say ADP 1PL.O 1PL.SBJV leave village ASSERT
 'they told us we should leave the village'

With the matrix-clause verb *dám vun* 'to answer', the direct-speech complement is not marked by a complementizer. Recall that the addressee has the form of a possessive pronoun:

- (33) *dzənàk gwá? dāmvrùm-u mà na tsu mì*
dzənàk gwá? dām vun rùm-u mà na tsú mì
 guinea fowl then answer 3M.POSS-FV REL 1SG NEG NEG
 'Guinea Fowl then answered him, "It wasn't mine!"'

The direct-speech complement of the verb *tʃi vun* 'to ask' is also an independent clause without a complementizer:

- (34) *bay dzənàk màʃin dāw tʃi və rum-u ha mbó wà? mì*
bay dzənàk masin dāw tʃi vun rùm-u ha mbó wà? mì
 CONJ guinea fowl other one ask 3M.POSS 2M come want what

su bay

su bay

Q friend

'One of the guinea fowls asked him, "What did you come here for, my friend?"'

- (35) *mum tʃiʋun rùm-u syemɔ̃ ùm ɔ̃ ma su*
 3M ask 3M.POSS-FV name 3M.POSS call how Q
 'He asked him, "What is his name?"'

In elicited examples the indirect-speech complement of the verb *tʃi ʋun* is marked by the complementizer *i*:

- (36) *handàʏ tsí ʋún mbà i mum ndzàr mbà su*
 3PL ask 1PL.POSS COMP 3M brother 1PL.POSS Q
 'they asked us if he is our brother'

- (37) *mum tsí ʋún rín í na wé ʋún Pévé sí su*
 3M ask 1SG.POSS COMP 1SG know mouth P. ASSERT Q
 'he asked me if I knew the Pévé language'

In summary, while the complementizer *i* after the matrix-clause verb corresponding to 'ask' or 'answer' appears to mark the difference between complements involving direct vs. indirect speech, this distinction is not marked in complements of verbs corresponding to 'say', 'tell' and 'speak'. Such complements may be marked by the complementizer *i*, the impersonal pronoun *na*, or the combined complementizer *i na*, with no apparent functional difference. It is likely that the presence or absence of a complementizer relies in part on the speaker's choice, much like the complementizer in English sentences such as 'He said (that) he broke his hoe'.

2.4 *Domain de dicto vs. Domain de re*

Some verbs of saying, including the simple verb *ó* 'to request' and the compound verb *tʃi ʋun* 'to ask', may be followed by either a complement belonging to the domain *de dicto* or a complement belonging the domain *de re*. The domain *de dicto*, as defined in Frajzyngier and Jasperson 1991, consists of complements involving direct or indirect speech, while complements in the domain *de re* refer to an element of reality, such as an object or a location. The distinguishing characteristic of the domain *de re* is that the complement has the grammatical role of object in the matrix clause. The *de re* complement, unlike the *de dicto* complement, is thus a dependent clause:

- (38) *tá tǽvun rì bàr màn-á*
 3F ask place spend night 1SG.POSS-FV
 'she asked where I slept' ('my sleeping place')

- (39) *mum tǽvun kwá mà ní na ti*
 3M ask thing REL PRO 1SG eat
 'he asked what I ate' ('the thing that I ate')

The complement of the verb *ó* 'to request something' may also belong to the domain *de re*. The evidence is that the thing requested functions as the object of the matrix clause:

- (40) *na ó mbì bá rum-u*
 1SG ask water from ('hand') 3M.POSS-FV
 'I asked him for water'

A requested action can be a nominalized verb that serves as the object of the matrix clause, i.e. belongs to the domain *de re*. The agent of the complement clause is marked as the possessor of the nominalized verb:

- (41) *na ó káw bá wə hay? ndày-à*
 1SG ask help from ('hand') PREP PREP 3PL.POSS-FV
 'I asked them for help' (lit. 'I asked for help near them')

Some attempts to elicit causative constructions produced constructions with the verb *ó* followed by an independent clausal complement, i.e. a complement in the *de dicto* domain (recall that Pévé has no dedicated construction corresponding to the causative construction):

- (42) *mum ó ndày dí fún ne s-á*
 3M ask 3PL.O prepare food ADP 3F.O-FV
 for 'he made them prepare food for her'

- (43) *tá ó sowã bá só ndày-á*
 3F ask people clean house 3PL.O-FV
 for 'she made the people clean their house'

2.5 *Tense and Aspect in the Complement Clause*

The only tense or aspect contrast attested in the complement clause is between the perfective aspect and the unmarked aspect. The perfective aspect is marked in the complement, as it is in the independent clause, by high tone on the verb and the absence of a tense/aspect marker:

- (44) *Taú ín ne kə Gwà i mum dǔm wa káva ùm-ù*
 T. say ADP ASSC G. COMP 3M forget hoe 3M.POSS-FV
 'Tau told Gwa that he_(1,2) forgot his_(1,2) hoe'
- (45) *na láʔ swə məsin du ri dǎw tɛ dɔ man*
 1SG say man other among 2PL.POSS one take dog 1SG.POSS
kum-u
 yesterday-FV
 'I said, "One of you took my dog yesterday."'

In complement clauses referring to an ongoing or unbounded event, only the unmarked aspect is attested. There are no examples of the imperfective marker *wá* in the complement:

- (46) *mláʔ hĩ ha tʃiʔi maandá nəʔ su*
mum láʔ hẽ ha tʃiʔ mi ndá na su
 3M say INTERJ 2M cry what like I.PRO Q
 'He said, "Hey, why are you crying like that?"'
- (47) *ta láʔá i nambà (wá) dè Pala*
 3F say COMP 1PL IMPF go P.
 'she said that we are going to Pala'

Some natural discourse complement clauses with future time reference occur without the future marker *dà*, but the future marker can be added without a change in meaning:

- (48) *mum gwaʔ láʔ ne nùm na [na]mbà (dà) faŋ zàʔ*
 3M then say ADP 3M.O I.PRO 1PL FUT repeat find
dzənàk kun-a
 guinea fowl DED.PL-FV
 'He said to him, "We (will) go back and find the guinea fowls."'

- (49) *mum lé? né nəm ha lambə ha man yè*
mum lá? ne nùm ha lá? mbə ha màn (dà) yè
 3M say ADP 3M.O 2M COND come 2M 1SG.O FUT know
sí zə wa rìn fol-o
sí zə wa rìn fol-o
 ASSERT PREP head 1SG.POSS whitish-FV
 'He told him, "If you come here, you (will) know me because my head is whitish."'

The question is whether constructions like examples 48 and 49 result from omission of a tense/aspect marker or whether they represent the unmarked aspect, whose temporal function is deduced from surrounding discourse or the shared understanding of speaker and hearer. The context of example 50, combined with the S O V order of constituents in the complement (bolded), suggests that the construction results from omission of a tense/aspect marker, in this case the future marker. Recall that the order of elements in the independent future clause is S *dà* O V when the object is pronominal:

- (50) *mum dà sá tsoḃ síw-i*
 3M FUT 3F.O buy tomorrow-FV
 'he will buy it (fem.) tomorrow'

The absence of overt markers of non-perfective tense or aspect in the complement clause suggests that Pévé, like many Chadic languages, distinguishes between pragmatically independent clauses and pragmatically dependent clauses, where the two types of clauses code different sets of tense and aspect distinctions using different sets of coding means (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002, Frajzyngier and Johnston with Edwards 2005, Creissels 2008 and Bril 2010).

2.6 Mood in the Complement Clause

The subjunctive mood in the complement is coded by the use of a subject pronoun from the subjunctive set. This holds true for direct- and indirect-speech complements:

- (51) *məm lá?á fāmbə tám kədàn ve sàle màn-a*
mum lá? á faɲ mbə tám kədàn ve sàlay màn-a
 3M say 1SG.SBJV return today PURP collect money 1SG.POSS
 'He said I should come back today to collect my money.'

- (52) *lum lá? à ?à fǎye*
lum lá? à à faŋ ye
 lion say 2M.SBJV 2M.SBJV repeat PERM
 'Lion said, "Go back!"'

The subjunctive subject marker is used even if the nature of the matrix clause indicates obligation or command, as in the following example:

- (53) *tá ták nùm í nà tsòb mbàràw né sá mì*
 3F forbid 3M.O COMP 3M.SBJV buy clothing ADP 3F.O NEG
 'she forbade him from buying her clothing'

The subject is marked in the subjunctive complement even if the subject is also overtly marked as the addressee in the main clause:

- (54) *handày ín ne mbà má ɣá só sí*
 3PL say ADP 1PL.O 1PL.SBJV leave village ASSERT
 'they told us we should leave the village'

- (55) *àŋ là? sá tà mbà ye*
 2F.SBJV say 3F.O 3F.SBJV come PERM
 'tell her to come!' ('(you) tell her₁ she₁ should come')

2.7 *Speech Topic as Complement*

The complement of a verb of saying may represent the thing said or the topic of speech. The noun *dàn* 'word' after the verb *in* refers to a fragment of speech, which may or may not be specific:

- (56) *na ín dàn ne nù*
 1SG tell word ADP 2M.O
 'I told you something/I told you that'
- (57) *na ké ín dàn kə rù*
 1SG PROG tell word ASSC 2M.POSS
 'I was saying something/that to you'

The phrase *wa dàn* 'about' (lit. 'on word') marks what follows as the topic of speech:

- (58) *na wà? kədàn in dàn wa dàn vari rəkway*
 1SG want PURP tell about trip
 'I would like to talk about the trip.'

The form *wa*, corresponding to 'about', may occur without the noun *dàn* 'word' without an apparent change in meaning:

- (59) *swə məní ha ín dan wa sa nə mbá sí*
 man REL 2M speak word about 3F.POSS DED.M come ASSERT
 'the man you spoke to about her has arrived'
- (60) *mum tsíyun rìn wa [kwá mà tà kə syem] mà ni nambà*
 3M ask 1SG.POSS about animal REL PRO 1PL
wé na
 see I.PRO
 'he asked me about the animal that we saw'

Attempts to elicit a nominalized verb as a complement of a verb of saying produced only complements in the form of independent clauses, preceded by the complementizer *i*:

- (61) *handày ín né nànn í á ɣá yé*
 3PL say ADP 1SG.O COMP 1SG.SBJV leave PERM
 'they told me to leave' ('they told me I should leave')
- (62) *tá ták nùnn í nà tsòb mbàràw né sá mì*
 3F forbid 3M.O COMP 3M.SBJV buy clothing ADP 3F.O NEG
 'she told him not to buy her clothing' ('she told him that he (should) not buy clothing for her')

3 Verbs of Perception

Complements of matrix verbs of perception distinguish between direct and indirect perception. The recorded verbs of perception include *mùn* 'to hear, to understand', *we* 'to see, to know, to recognize', and *ye*, a dialectal variant of *we*.

Indirect perception is coded by the complementizer *i* followed by an independent clause. Since there is no addressee, the complementizer *i* follows the matrix-clause verb:

- (63) *Taú wé i tá dǔm wa kává s-á*
 T. see COMP 3F forget ('lose head') hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 'Tau saw that she_{1,2} forgot her_{1,2} hoe'

- (64) *Taú mún i tá dǔm wa kává s-á*
 T. hear COMP 3F forget hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 'Tau heard that she_{1,2} forgot her_{1,2} hoes'

The complementizer *i* may be preceded by the phrase *handày ín* 'they said', where the 3PL subject pronoun represents an unspecified speaker:

- (65) *Taú mún handày ín i tá dǔm wa kává s-á*
 T. hear 3PL say COMP 3F forget hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 'Tau heard that she₁ forgot her₁ hoe' ('Tau heard them/someone say that she forgot her hoe')

Direct perception is coded by the object role of the complement clause in the matrix clause, the same means used to code the *de re* domain with the verb *tǔi vun* 'to ask'. The complementizer *i* does not occur:

- (66) *na wé swə wá mbà hay? mbà*
 1SG saw man IMPF enter PREP 1PL.POSS
 'I saw someone entering our place'

Evidence that the complement is the object of the matrix clause is provided by the fact that the pronominal subject of the complement clause is represented by an object pronoun:

- (67) *na wé sá ɣá wá dà*
 1SG see 3F.O depart IMPF go
 'I saw her leaving'

The subject of the complement clause may be represented as the possessor of the thing heard:

- (68) *na mún syem tà ùm wá mbà*
 1SG hear foot walk 3M.POSS IMPF come
 'I heard him coming' ('I heard his feet walking')

- (69) *may mún dàn màn si*
 M. heard word 1SG.POSS ASSERT
 'May heard/understood what I said' ('heard my words')

4 Verbs of Cognition

Verbs of cognition include *we* or *ye* 'to recognize, to know' (also 'to see', above), *dík* 'to think, to believe', and *dúm wa* 'to forget' ('to lose head'). Complements of these verbs code a distinction between indirect knowledge and direct knowledge. The latter is marked by the complement serving as the object of the matrix clause.

The complement representing indirect knowledge is an independent clause preceded by the complementizer *i*:

- (70) *mum wá dík i mum gáo*
 3M IMPF believe COMP 3M hunter
 'he₁ believes that he_{1,2} is a hunter'

- (71) *mum dík i mum gáo*
 3M believe COMP 3M hunter
 'he₁ believed that he_{1,2} was a hunter'

In constructions involving the verb *we* as a cognitive verb, the matrix clause is followed by the assertive marker *sí*, possibly to distinguish *we* as a cognitive verb from *we* as a verb of perception:

- (72) *na wé sí háy dím wa káva màn-á*
 1SG know ASSERT 2F forget hoe 2F.POSS-FV
 'I know that you forgot your hoe'

- (73) *na wé sí hí dím wa káva mì*
 1SG know ASSERT 2PL forget hoe 2PL.POSS
 'I know that you (PL) forgot your hoes'

Cf. *we* as a verb of perception, as indicated by the absence of *sí*:

- (74) *na wé i tá dím wa káva s-á*
 1SG see COMP 3F forget hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 'I saw that she forgot her hoe'

The direct-knowledge complement of a cognitive verb belongs to the domain *de re*, indicated by the fact that the nominalized verb of the complement functions as the object of the main clause:

- (75) *swà nyé zì gay? sì*
 swà nà yé zì gay? sì
 man DED.M know play game-FV ASSERT
 ‘the man knew how to play *gay?*’

In the next example the compound verb *ḡa?wa dàn* (*ḡá?*+‘about’) corresponds to ‘to realize’. It is possible that *ḡa?* and *za?* ‘to find’ are derived from the same source. In the next example, the event of the *de re* complement is represented by a nominalized compound verb (*dúm wa*) that functions as the object of the main clause. The agent of the complement clause, which may have its own object, is indicated by a possessive pronoun modifying the nominalized verb:

- (76) *sàráy ḡá? wa dàn dúm wa kává s-á*
 S. realize about forget hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 ‘Səray realized that she forgot her hoe’ (‘she realized the forgetting of her hoe’)

The complement of the compound verb *dúm wa* is marked for the domain *de re* when the thing forgotten is an entity or place. The complement is a relative clause whose head (bolded>) is the item whose identity is in question. The relative clause functions as the object of the matrix clause:

- (77) *mum dúm wa ri mà ni mum wé kwá mà tà ká*
 3M forget place REL PRO 3M see thing REL walk ASSC
 syem han nà sí
 foot there POST ASSERT
 ‘he forgot where he saw the animal’ (‘he forgot the place where he saw the animal’)

- (78) *mum dúm wa swà mà ni mbá kə rùm ti nà*
 3M forget man REL PRO come ASSC 3M.O PROX PRO
 sí
 ASSERT
 ‘he forgot the person who brought him here’

- (79) *na díúm wa kwá mà ní ha né nùnm nà sí*
 1SG forget thing REL PRO 2M give 3M.O POST ASSERT
 'I forgot the things that you gave him'

5 Volitional Verb *wà?*

Complements of the verb *wà?* 'to want' distinguish between the domains *de dicto* and *de re*, where the different-subject complement belongs to the domain *de dicto* and the same-subject complement belongs to the domain *de re*.

The different-subject complement is an independent clause preceded by the complementizer *i*. The use of a subject pronoun, not an object pronoun, to code the subject of the complement is evidence that the subject of the complement does not play a grammatical role in the main clause:

- (80) *tá wá wà? i handày ɣá yé*
 3F IMPF want COMP 3PL.O leave PERM
 'she wants them to leave'

- (81) *handày wà? i nambà ɣá yé*
 3PL want COMP 1PL.O leave PERM
 'they want us to leave'

An interesting feature of different-subject complements of the verb *wà?* is that the 1PL or 3PL subject of the complement clause is marked by a pronoun from the indicative/alienable possession set (see above), while all other subject pronouns used in different-subject complements are from the subjunctive set. The complementizer *i* occurs with both types of complements, indicative and subjunctive:

- (82) *ha wà? i á gí mí su*
 2M want COMP 1SG.SBJV do what Q
 'what do you want me to do?'

- (83) *na wà? i à tsar gaḃ vay màn*
 1SG want COMP 2M.SBJV get up illness child 1SG.POSS
 'I want you to heal my child'

- (84) *nambà wà? í ì ãyá*
 1PL want COMP 2PL.SBJV leave
 'we want you to leave'

The distribution of indicative vs. subjunctive pronouns in the complement holds true in all aspects and also with the counterfactual marker *kàzà*:

Subjunctive subject:

- (85) *nambà wà? í à ãyá*
 1PL want COMP 2M.SBJV leave
 'we wanted you to leave'
- (86) *mum wá? í kàzà á mbà*
 3M want COMP CF 1SG.SBJV come
 'he wanted me to come'

Cf. the indicative subject:

- (87) *handày wá? kàzà í nambà ãyá yé*
 3PL want CF COMP 1PL leave PERM
 'they wanted us to leave'

The same-subject complement of the verb *wà?* has no subject marker. The verb of the complement functions as the object of the matrix clause, marking the clause as belonging to the domain *de re*. The complement may be followed by the permission marker *ye*, which codes the subjunctive mood:

- (88) *tá wà? ãyá (ye)*
 3F want leave PERM
 'she wants to leave'
- (89) *handày wà? ãyá (ye)*
 3PL want leave PERM
 'they want to leave'

The matrix verb *wà?* may be followed by the purpose marker *kádàn*, which also codes purpose in non-volitional constructions. The only recorded instances involve a same-subject complement without an overt subject marker, where the subject of the complement is the object of the matrix clause:

- (90) *na wà? [kə]dàn in dàn rəkway-a*
 1SG want [ASSC]tell about stranger-FV
 'I would like to talk about the stranger.'
- (91) *ha là? wà? kədàn ti kwá si à o fún*
 3M COND want for eat thing ASSERT 2M.SBJV ask food
bá rum ye
 from ('hand') 3M.POSS PERM
 'if you want to eat, ask him for food'

6 Ability Verb *gàk* 'Can, Be Able'

The speaker's estimation of the ability of the subject to perform an action is coded by the verb *gàk* 'to be able' followed by a verb denoting the action. The same form with the same meaning is found in Mundang. The verb *gàk* resembles the future tense marker *də* and the aspect marker *wá* and *ké* in that *gàk* follows the subject and precedes the verb; the verb following *gàk* is in the unmarked form; and other markers, including pronouns referring to the indirect object, may intervene between *gàk* and the main verb. The verb *gàk* thus functions as an auxiliary rather than a matrix verb:

- (92) *mum là? géndo? sin um si mum gàk pemāy*
 3M COND finish work 3M.POSS ASSERT 3M can rest
si
 ASSERT
 'if he has finished his work, he can rest'

When the verbal complement describing the action to be performed has a pronominal direct object, the order of elements is S *gàk* O V and the pronoun representing the object is from the non-perfective set:

- (93) *na là? mbá sū na gà? əm za? si*
na là? mbá si na gàk ùm zà? si
 1SG COND come ASSERT 1SG can 3M.O find ASSERT
 'If I came here, I could find him.'

Cf. the future-tense clause, where the object pronoun also occurs between tense marker and verb:

- (94) *ta dā nùm pum-u*
 3F FUT 3M.O hit-FV
 'she will hit him'

High tone on the verb *gāk* in the indicative clause indicates that the potential action was achieved. The verb following *gāk* (*gāk* with high tone) is in the unmarked form and the object pronoun is from the perfective set:

- (95) *na gāk za? nùm si*
 1SG can find 3M.O ASSERT
 'I was able to find him'

Although the construction involving *gāk* resembles constructions involving tense and aspect markers, there are several important differences. One is the fact that the verb *gāk* may carry the high tone coding perfective aspect, while tense/aspect markers have fixed tone. Another is that *gāk* may function as a main verb, as evidenced by the following complete clause:

- (96) *na tsú gāk mì*
 1SG NEG can NEG
 'I was not able to/I could not'

The speaker's estimation of the subject's ability can also be coded by a serial verb construction consisting of the verb *zá?* 'to find' followed by another verb:

- (97) *bay mota mənahã rawtirùm*
bay mota mə ni na han rawti rùm
 CONJ car (Ful.) REL PRO 1SG there inside 3M.POSS
na (pause) zá? tsúwál ʒye nəkəndʒikè fǎdĩ? mægà?
n-a zá? tsúwál zè nə kə ndʒike fǎdĩ? mə
 POST-FV find cross river DED.M ASSC iron four REL
bàka
gà? bàkà
 side morning
 'Then the car that I was sitting in there managed to cross the river at four o'clock in the morning.'

7 Counterfactual Matrix Clause

Unlike many Chadic and non-Chadic languages, Pévé has grammaticalized the marker *kàzə́*, glossed ‘CF’ for ‘counterfactual’, as a means of indicating that the subject’s belief or wish, as expressed in the matrix clause, was unrealized.

The precise function of *kàzə́* depends on the choice of verb in the matrix clause. With a verb of cognition, *kàzə́* indicates that the belief of the matrix-clause subject did not turn out to be true. The marker *kàzə́* follows the matrix verb. The evidence that *kàzə́* is part of the matrix clause and not the complement is that *kàzə́* can be followed by the complementizer *i*.

- (98) *sàráy dǐk kàzə́ i tá dǔm wa kává s-á*
 S. believe CF COMP 3F forget hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 ‘S. thought that she forgot her hoe’ (she didn’t forget it)

Cf. the clause with the compound verb *ǵáʔ wa dàn* ‘realize’, where the subject’s belief is borne out by events. Here, *kàzə́* does not occur:

- (99) *sàráy ǵáʔ wa dàn dǔm wa kává s-á*
 S. realize forget hoe 3F.POSS-FV
 ‘S. realized that she forgot her hoe’

When it is not obvious whether the subject’s belief holds true or not, *kàzə́* is not used:

- (100) *mum dǐk i mum gáo*
 3M believe COMP 3M hunter
 ‘he₁ believed that he_(1,2) was a hunter’ (he may or may not be a hunter)

Use of *kàzə́* with the volitional matrix verb *wàʔ* ‘want’ indicates that the subject’s desire was not met:

- (101) *handà y wáʔ kàzə́ í nambà ʔyá yé*
 3PL want CF COMP 1PL leave PERM
 ‘they wanted us to leave’ (we didn’t leave)

Without *kàzə́*, the subject’s desire may or may not have been met:

- (102) *nambà wà? i i ɣá*
 1PL want COMP 2PL.SBJV leave
 ‘we wanted you to leave’ (he may or may not have left)

As previously noted, the same-subject complement of the verb *wà?* functions as the object of the matrix clause (domain *de re*). Evidence for the object role of the nominalized verb is that it precedes the counterfactual marker:

- (103) *nambà wà? ɣá kàzɔ́ yé*
 1PL want leave CF PERM
 ‘we wanted to leave’ (but we couldn’t)

Cf. without the counterfactual marker:

- (104) *handà y wà? yá yé*
 3PL want leave PERM
 ‘they want to leave’

In a sentence involving the auxiliary verb *gàk* ‘to be able’ there is no matrix clause. The marker *kàzɔ́*, which indicates that the act the speaker deemed possible did not occur, is attested in both clause-final and clause-initial position, a characteristic of most adjuncts (see chapter 23):

- (105) *na gæk ùm zà? kàzɔ́ si*
 1SG can 3M.O find CF ASSERT
 ‘I should have been able to find him’

or

- (106) *kàzɔ́ na gæk ùm zà? si*
 CF 1SG can 3M.O find ASSERT
 ‘I should have been able to find him’

The evidence for the counterfactual function of *kàzɔ́* is that the counterfactual matrix clause can be followed by a clause negating the potential event described by the matrix clause:

- (107) *na gæk ùm zà? kàzɔ́ si àmá na tsú gák mì*
 1SG can 3M.O find CF ASSERT but 1SG NEG can NEG
 ‘I should have been able to find him, but I couldn’t’

The clause with *kəzə* cannot be followed by a clause stating that the event took place:

- (108) *na gək ùm zà? kəzə si *bəy na zá? nùm si*
 1SG can 3M.O find CF ASSERT CONJ 1SG find 3M.O ASSERT
 for ‘I should have been able to find him, and I found him’

Similarly, the clause without *kəzə* cannot be followed by a clause negating the event:

- (109) *na gək zá? nùm si *ámá na tsú za? nùm mì*
 1SG can find 3M.O ASSERT but 1SG NEG find 3M.O NEG
 for ‘I could have found him, but I didn’t find him’

As shown in chapter 18, the marker *kəzə* may also occur in a conditional protasis clause, where it indicates that the condition described by the protasis was not met.

8 Complements of Other Verbs

The following sections describe constructions with clausal verbal complements whose function is to modify or add information to the main verb. In all cases the verb of the complement is in the nominalized form.

8.1 *The Verbs* *ʒe* ‘to Start Quickly/Suddenly’ and *ge ndo?* ‘to Finish, to End’

The complement of the verb *ʒe* ‘to start (quickly/suddenly/immediately)’ may be a nominalized verb preceded by the associative preposition *kə*:

- (110) *vay ʒé kə ne-e*
 child start ASSC run-FV
 ‘the child suddenly ran away’

- (111) *bəy ... yii ... ʒeagəzi gày?gəndày*
bəy yii ʒé kə ʒi gay? kə ndày
 CONJ squirrel start ASSC play game ASSC 3PL.O
 ‘So Squirrel immediately started playing *gay?* with them.’

The associative preposition before the complement cannot be deleted:

- (112) **bay yii ké zi gay? kə ndày*
 CONJ squirrel start play game ASSC 3PL.O
 for 'so Squirrel started to play *gày?* with them' (or any meaning)

The compound verb *ge ndo?* 'to finish' ('make end') may be followed by a nominal complement in the direct object position. Evidence that the complement is a noun is that it is modified by a possessive pronoun:

- (113) *wăy zá? kum ta gé ndo? sin sá*
 3 days ago plus yesterday 3F make end work 3F.POSS
 'three days ago, she finished her work'
- (114) *mum là? gé ndo? sin um si mum gāk pemăy*
 3M COND finish work 3M.POSS ASSERT 3M can rest
sí
 ASSERT
 'if he has finished his work, he can rest'

The form *ndó?* may follow the noun representing the thing that is finished. In this case, *ndó?* functions as a modifier rather than the nominal constituent of a compound verb:

- (115) *hăy là? gí kwáti ndó? si, nambà dà ti*
 2F COND made food finish ASSERT 1PL FUT eat
 'if you have finished cooking, we will eat'
- (116) *nambà tsú bá só ndo? mə to?o*
 1PL NEG clean house finish NEG yet
 'we did not clean the house yet' (for 'our housecleaning was not finished')

8.2 The Verb *káw bá* 'to Help'

The compound verb *káw bá* 'to help' ('take/grab hand') may be followed by a nominalized verb marked by the associative preposition *kə*. The object of the main verb is represented by an inalienable possessive pronoun, proof that the verb is a compound verb. The only examples are elicited different-subject clauses:

- (117) *handà y káw bá mbà kə dām só*
 3PL help ('take hand') 1PL.POSS ASSC build house
 'they helped us build the house' ('they gave us a hand with building the house')
- (118) *nambà káw bá rúm kə tsof ya nãw-ã*
 1PL help ('take hand') 3M.POSS ASSC buy cow-FV
 'we helped him buy the cow'

8.3 *The Verb gí 'to Do, to Make'*

The verb *gí* has a wide range of functions, including serving alone as a verb of creation ('to do, to make') and serving as the first component in a number of compound verbs. The verb *gí* alone can also function as a verb of causation. In this case, *gí* is followed by a different-subject complement consisting of an object pronoun followed by a verb in the unmarked form. Use of the object pronoun indicates that the subject of the causative complement, unlike the subject of the volitional complement, has a grammatical role in the main clause:

- (119) *mum gí nà n ʔyá*
 3M make 1SG.O leave
 'he made me leave'
- (120) *na gí nùm ʔyá*
 1SG make 3M.O leave
 'I made him leave'

Cf. the volitional constructions, where the complement is an independent clause:

- (121) *handà y wà? i nambà ʔyá yé*
 3PL want COMP 1PL leave PERM
 'they want us to leave' (lit. 'they wanted that we should leave')

The verb 'to do, to make' followed by the purpose marker *kádàn* (see chapter 21) also codes causation:

- (122) *mum gí kádàn dàw kunə ùr ndá?-a*
 3M make PURP child PL mount horse-FV
 'he made the children mount the horse'

9 Conclusion

Coding means in complements of matrix verbs include the presence or absence of complementizers, the independent vs. dependent nature of the complement, and the coding of the complement as the object of the matrix clause. Unlike in some Chadic languages, the common verbs of saying in Pévé do not differentiate between complements representing direct speech and complements representing indirect speech. Exceptions are complements of verbs corresponding to 'ask' or 'answer', which do appear to mark the difference between direct and indirect speech. Verbs of asking make a distinction between the domain *de dicto*, coded by an independent-clause complement, and the domain *de re*, coded by a dependent-clause complement that functions as the direct object of the matrix clause. Verbs of perception, cognition, and volition make a similar distinction using the same means. The verb corresponding to 'to be able' is an auxiliary rather than a matrix verb and can also function as the sole verb in a predication. Complements of 'to be able', 'to want', and cognitive verbs are attested with the counterfactual marker *kàvǎ*, whose function is to indicate that the subject's wish or desire, or the speaker's estimation of the subject's ability, was unfulfilled. A number of verbs, including *ǵé* 'to start', *ge ndo?* 'to finish, to end', and *káw bá* 'to help', have complements only in the domain *de re*, where the complement is a nominalized verb or a verbal clause whose subject is the object of the matrix clause.

Comparative Constructions

1 Introduction

This chapter describes constructions that compare the properties or actions of one argument (the target) with those of another argument (the basis). The property or action involved is referred to as the standard of comparison. The coding means in comparative constructions include the comparative marker *ndá* ‘like’ and the verbs *pã* ‘to exceed, to surpass’ and *dày* ‘to arrive’.

2 Equal Comparison

The equal comparison construction corresponding to ‘Noun₁ is like Noun₂’ is marked by the comparative marker *ndá* after the target (N₁) and before the basis (N₂). The impersonal pronoun *na* in clause-final position marks the comparative construction as an independent clause, just as it marks the sequence Noun Noun or Noun Adjective as an independent (equational) clause:

- (1) *dá ndá índù na*
 dog like hyena I.PRO
 ‘the dog is like the hyena’

Without *na*, the clause is incomplete:

- (2) *dá ndá índù*
 dog like hyena
 ‘the dog, like the hyena, ...’

The standard of comparison may be represented by a verb or verb phrase followed by *ndá*:

- (3) *mum mbúđ ndá koi naʔ-à*
 3M grow like K. I.PRO-FV
 ‘he is as tall as Koi’ (lit. ‘he grew like Koi’)

- (4) *Sáráy gí sin báý tǵēt ndá Máý naʔ-a*
 S. do work well all like M. I.PRO-FV
 'Səray works as well/as hard as May'
- (5) *mláʔhĩ ha tǵiʔi maandá bəʔew bal*
mum láʔ hẽ ha tǵiʔ ma ndá bə-ʔe bal
 3M say INTERJ 2M cry how like AGT(m.)-take credit
dàbāʔ brùk nəʔ su
dàbāʔ brùk nəʔ su
 tobacco monitor lizard ADP Q
 'He said, "Hey, why are you crying like the guy who took credit for the Monitor Lizard's tobacco?"'

The basis in a comparative construction may be a manner or event. As shown in chapter 12, anaphoric reference to a manner or an event is marked by *na* after *ndá*:

- (6) *varìrkwayrùm gi ndá naʔ*
vari rəkway rùm gí ndá naʔ
 trip 3M.POSS do like I.PRO
 'The trip was like that.'
- (7) *ha ne mi ndá na su*
 2M run what like I.PRO Q
 'Why are you running like that?'

3 Unequal Comparison

All attested constructions involving unequal comparison are verbal clauses, even when the standard of comparison is represented by a modifier describing an attribute. The modifier representing the standard follows the target noun. When the target exceeds the basis with respect to the standard, the standard is followed by the verb *pǎ* 'to exceed, to surpass', marked for the perfective aspect. This is a common means of coding unequal comparison in Chadic:

- (8) *Gwà toŋ pǎ May si*
 G. large exceed M. ASSERT
 'Gwa is bigger than May.'

- (9) *Sáráy kí pǎ́ Tau sí*
 S. small exceed T. ASSERT
 'Səray is smaller than Tau'

- (10) *Tau mbúɗ pǎ́ Kóm sí*
 T. grow exceed K. ASSERT
 'Tau is taller than Kom'

When the basis exceeds the target with respect to the standard of comparison, the clause is a negative clause with the verb *dáy* 'to arrive' in the perfective aspect. The adjective describing the attribute modifies the subject (target). This grammaticalization of the verb *dáy* is unusual in Chadic:

- (11) *Sáráy tsú mbúɗ dáy Tau mí*
 S. NEG grow arrive T. NEG
 'Səray is not as tall as Tau'

The same structures apply when the standard of comparison is an action. When the target exceeds the basis, the verb *pǎ* follows the verb referring to the standard:

- (12) *Sáráy wá gí sin pǎ́ Máy sí*
 S. IMPF make work exceed M. ASSERT
 'Səray works harder than Máy'
- (13) *Sáráy wá gí sin brò pǎ́ Tau sí*
 S. IMPF make work bad exceed T. ASSERT
 'Səray works worse than Tau' (i.e., does not work as well)

When the basis exceeds the target, the verb *dáy* 'arrive' follows the verb and the clause is negated:

- (14) *Sáráy tsú wá gí sin báɗ dáy Tau mí*
 S. NEG IMPF make work good arrive T. NEG
 'Səray works less hard than Tau'

4 Conclusion

Equal comparison is coded by the marker *ndá* 'like' after the target of comparison and before the basis of comparison. When the standard of comparison is an action, manner, or attribute, the comparative marker follows the standard. Unequal comparison is coded by the verb *pã* 'to exceed' when the target exceeds the basis. When the basis exceeds the target, comparison is coded by a negative clause involving the verb *dày* 'to arrive', an unusual means among Chadic languages.

Adjunct Phrases and Clauses

1 Introduction

An adjunct is defined here as a lexical item, phrase, or clause that can be added to virtually any construction, provided the meaning of the adjunct does not contradict or reiterate functions coded within the larger construction. An adjunct can be added to or deleted from a construction without altering grammatical relationships within the construction. A lexical item that functions as an adjunct without additional marking, i.e., without a preposition, is considered an inherent modifier. The scope of the inherent modifier is the entire clause, as opposed to only the verb (cf. ‘lexical modifiers’ in East Dangla, Shay 1999). Adjuncts described in this chapter include inherent modifiers, other lexical items marked for the modifying function, and purpose and reason clauses.

2 Temporal Adjuncts

Pévé has a rich set of temporal nouns and noun phrases, some of which are listed below. Most of these nouns function as temporal adjuncts without additional marking. Most may have either deictic or non-deictic reference, e.g., *tám* ‘today’ (deictic) or ‘these days, now’ (non-deictic); *kum* ‘yesterday’ (deictic) or ‘the past’ (non-deictic):

<i>wáta</i>	‘last year’
<i>wãý</i>	‘three days ago’; ‘three days before (some point in time)’; ‘latest, most recent’
<i>kum</i>	‘yesterday’; ‘in the past’
<i>tám</i>	‘today’; ‘in the present’
<i>ſiw</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>səday?</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’ or ‘two days after (some point in time)’
<i>səday? day?</i>	‘the day after the day after tomorrow’ or ‘three days after (some point in time)’
<i>wãý za? kum</i>	‘the day before yesterday’ or ‘two days before’ (lit. ‘three days ago plus yesterday’)
<i>ſətà</i>	‘daytime’, ‘a day’, ‘sun’

Reference to a part of the day is marked by the associative preposition followed by a temporal noun: *kə bə̀kà/ fə̀tə̀/ ríyà* ‘morning, afternoon, evening’. The phrase *kə fə̀tə̀* (ASSC ‘sun’) is also used to refer to the dry season. Adding a deictic noun or deictic determiner makes the temporal reference deictic, as in *tám kə bə̀kà* or *kə bə̀kà ní* ‘this morning’:

- (1) *Taú tá lúmò tám kə bə̀kà*
 T. go.PERF market today PREP morning
 ‘Tau went to the market this morning’

A temporal noun may immediately follow the main verb without additional marking:

- (2) *mum la ne kə brùg ná? mum gyéwambə̀*
mum lá? ne kə brùk na mum gewa mbə̀
 3M say ADP ASSC monitor lizard-FV I.PRO 3M come back
sə̀day? ... kədàn ve ... sə̀lay um bo
sə̀day? ... kədàn ve ... sə̀lay um.... bo
 two days later PURP take money 3M.POSS PROM
 ‘He₁ told Monitor Lizard he₂ should come back in two days to get his₂ money back—definitely.’

- (3) *namba wá də softa tám kəə bāĩ mba*
nambə̀ wá də suk fə̀ta tam kə bāĩ mba
 1PL IMPF go stay day today ASSC Bar today
 ‘We will be spending today with Bar.’

When the verb is followed by a direct object, the temporal adjunct follows the object:

- (4) *mum(l)á?á ɛɛ sumə̀fín dù ri dāw téa bəl*
mum lá?á ɛɛ swə mə́sín dù ri dāw té bal
 3M say eh man other within 2PL.POSS one take credit
də̀bā? mən wāy zà? kũm-ú
də̀bā? mən wāy zà? kũm-ú
 tobacco 1SG.POSS day before yesterday-FV
 ‘He said, “One of you took my tobacco on credit (lit. ‘my tobacco’s credit’) the day before yesterday.”’

The temporal adverbial may also occur at the beginning of the clause, making it one of the few constituents that can precede the subject:

- (5) *wāy za? kum ta gé ndo? sin sá*
 day before yesterday 3F finish work 3F.POSS
 'the day before yesterday, she finished her work'
- (6) *tám tà gí tsof mbìr tǽt-ě*
 today 3F sell milk all-FV
 'today she sold all the milk'

As is the case in many languages, the adverbials *kum* 'yesterday' and *tám* 'today' may code broad reference to the past and the present, respectively. In the next example the adjunct *za?* 'still' (also 'plus', as in *wāy za? kum*, above), combined with negation, emphasizes the fact that the state does not obtain at the present time:

- (7) *ta ké báy kum àmá tám ta tsú báy za? mi*
 3F PROG pretty yesterday but today 3F NEG pretty still NEG
 'she used to be pretty, but she isn't pretty anymore' (note the use of *kum* 'yesterday' in broad reference to the past)

The preposition *zà* 'for, under' followed by a temporal noun marks the noun as coding duration of the event:

- (8) *mum súk kə mbà zà bàkà kí*
 3M stay with 1PL.O PREP morning few
 'he stayed with us for a few days'
- (9) *na də sə/um tsof siw-i*
 1SG FUT 3F.O/3M.O buy tomorrow
 'I will buy (it) tomorrow'
- (10) *ta də gi tsof sə siw məsin bo*
 3F FUT make buy 3F.O tomorrow other PROM
 'she will sell it tomorrow'

There is no Pévé equivalent of 'a week' or 'next week'. The following phrase can be used instead:

- (11) *ta də gi tsob sə siw məsin bo*
 3F FUT make buy 3F.O tomorrow other PROM
 'she will sell it another tomorrow' (for 'she will sell it in a week')

Reference to time on a clock is coded by the associative preposition *kə* followed by the phrase *ndzike* ('iron') + Numeral. The term 'iron' goes back to the metal watches introduced decades ago by Europeans. The distinction between morning and evening is coded by the marker *mə* followed by a temporal noun or noun phrase: *mə riya* 'afternoon', *mə (vun) bəkà* 'morning' ('mouth of the day/morning') or *mə (ga?) bəkà* ('side of the day/morning').

The point in time when the event occurred is marked by the associative preposition *kə*:

- (12) *nambà ʔyá ti kə ndzike vaɬ mə riya*
nambà ʔyá ti kə ndzike vaɬ mə riya
 1PL leave PROX ASSC iron five REL evening
 'We left here at five o'clock in the evening.'

- (13) *namba táʔkóri Garoua ká njike tswóho? məkbəkà*
namba táʔ káwri Garoua kə njike tsóho? mə kə
 1PL went arrive G. ASSC iron eight REL ASSC

bəkà

morning

'We arrived in Garoua at eight o'clock in the morning.'

The preposition *daka* 'from, since' marks the time the event begins, while the preposition *há* (similar to forms in Hausa, Fulfulde and Mundang) marks the time the event ends:

- (14) *nambà gá vâ zye ndəgandzikee ... syádá? har*
nambà gáy? vun zye nə daka ndzike sedá? há
 1PL stay mouth river DED.M from iron seven until
day ndzike váɬ məvən bəkà
dáy ndzike váɬ mə vun bəkà
 arrive iron five REL mouth morning
 'We stayed by the riverbank from seven o'clock until five o'clock in the morning.'

The adverbial phrase *mgban* ‘now’+*ni* (PROX) refers to the time of speech:

- (15) *ta ké day ri mgban ni na*
 3F PROG arrive now PROX I.PRO
 ‘she is just now arriving’
- (16) *mgban ni na ì dâ dē nùm ye*
 now PROX I.PRO 2PL.SBJV FUT call 3M.O PERM
 ‘call him right now!’

The marker *gwá?* ‘then’ marks an event that follows another event. Unlike most adverbials, *gwá?* occurs between the subject and the verb. This is a feature that *gwá?* shares with the conditional marker *là?* (cf. chapter 18), the future tense marker *dâ*, the aspect markers *wá* (IMPF) and *ké* (progressive aspect), and the auxiliary *gàk* ‘to be able’. Since *là?* and *dâ* are clearly derived from verbs (*là?* ‘to say’, *dâ* ‘to go’), it is likely that *gwá?* ‘then’ and other preverbal markers are also of verbal origin. The following examples show the use of *gwá?* in natural discourse:

- (17) *dzənàk gwá? dāmvrùm-u mà na tsu mi*
dzənàk gwá? dām vun rùm-u mà na tsú mi
 guinea fowl then answer 3M.POSS-FV REL 1SG NEG NEG
 ‘Guinea Fowl then answered him, “It wasn’t mine!”’
- (18) *yo ...εε ... yü gwá? lá? nnum na ?à gewa—*
yo ...εε ... yü gwá? lá? ne nùm na à gewa—
 so (Ful.) eh squirrel then say ADP 3M I.PRO 2M.SBJV return
?à fāye mbàfaŋ zà? dzənàk ... dzənàk
à faŋ ye [na]mbà faŋ zà? dzənàk ... dzənàk
 2M.SBJV repeat PERM 1PL repeat find guinea fowl guinea fowl
kuna
kun-a
 DED.PL-FV
 ‘So ... then Squirrel said to him, “Go back—again; we (will) find the guinea fowl again—the guinea fowls.”’

The marker *gwá?* ‘then’ may also be related to the verb *gwa?*, with the sense of ‘fall behind, dawdle, put off’:

- (19) *namba wə də Bud kə Woing kəzə ama mum gwa? si*
 1PL IMPF go B. ASSC W. CF but 3M stay ASSERT
 ‘We were supposed to go to Bud (a Pévè village in Chad) with Woing, but he fell behind.’

The expression *gwa? bo* ‘stay behind’ + indicator of promise has the meaning ‘insufficient, incomplete’:

- (20) *ha gí sin gwá? bo*
 2M make work stay PROM
 ‘your work is insufficient/incomplete’

3 Associative and Instrumental Adjuncts

As shown in chapter 5, the associative preposition *kə* may conjoin two nouns within a single noun phrase. When the noun marked by the associative preposition follows the verb, the noun functions as an adjunct:

- (21) *Taú tá lúmò kə Gwà*
 T. go marker ASSC G.
 ‘Tau went to the market with Gwa’

Cf. the conjoined noun phrase:

- (22) *Taú kə Gwà tá lúmò*
 T. ASSC G. go market
 ‘Tau and Gwa went to the market’

The pronominal object of the associative preposition is from the set that codes inalienable possession:

- (23) *ha dè Pala kə ndàŋ(-a)*
 2M FUT P. ASSC 3PL.POSS(-FV)
 ‘you will go to Pala with them.’

The function opposite to that of the associative adjunct is coded by *dan* ‘with-out’:

- (24) *mum tá lúmò dan s-á*
 3M go market without 3F.POSS-FV
 'he went to the market without her'

As shown in chapter 7, the marker *ndzì* codes the reciprocal function, indicating that the plural subject referents act on one another:

- (25) *handày mbá kádàn handày káw bá ndzì*
 3PL come PURP 3PL help ('take hand') RECIP
 'they came to help each other'

The preposition *wa* 'on' followed by the reciprocal *ndzì* codes a similar function. The preposition *wa* is probably derived from the noun 'head', used in other constructions as a spatial preposition (chapter 10):

- (26) *nambà mbá gí sin wa ndzì*
 1PL come do work PREP RECIP
 'we came here to work together' ('with each other')

The associative preposition *kə* also marks the instrumental adjunct:

- (27) *mum pe wa ne kə dzənàk kə ndi*
 3M hit head DED.M ASSC guinea fowl ASSC 3SG.O
 'He hit the guinea fowl on the head with it.'

- (28) *Taú fól sá kə àtsíw*
 T. slaughter 3F.O ASSC knife
 'Tau slaughtered her with a knife'

The associative preposition *kə* followed by a nominalized verb marks an action concurrent with the event of the main clause. The verb in the concurrent clause has no subject, though it may have an object:

- (29) *nambà dà ba(r) dùkrí tʃi? kə gi sin-i*
 1PL FUT lie/watch night all ASSC do work-FV
 'we will spend the whole night working'

- (30) *vay bá(r) dùkrí kerker kə tʃi?-i*
 baby lie/watch night all the time ASSC cry.V
 'the baby spent the night crying'

- (31) *kəri m̩ni só vé kú, handà y wúr kə né*
 when house take fire 3PL exit (PL) ASSC run
 ‘when the house caught fire, they fled’ (‘they left with running’)

The concurrent clause also serves as the complement of the main verb ‘to help’:

- (32) *nambà káw bá rúm kə tsof ya nãw-ã*
 1PL help (‘take hand’) 3M.POSS ASSC buy cow-FV
 ‘we helped him buy the cow’

The clause-final adverbial *t̩f̩mt̩f̩m-é* indicates that the plural subject referents acted separately:

- (33) *Tau kə Gwà kunə tá lúmò t̩f̩mt̩f̩m-é*
 T. ASSC G. PL go market separately-FV
 ‘Tau and Gwa went to the market separately.’

4 Manner Adjuncts

The clause-final marker *go* ~ *gwa*, perhaps derived from the temporal adverbial *gwá?* (see section 2, above), softens a command addressed to the hearer. The marker *go*, with the underlying form *gwá?*, is glossed as ‘now’, as its function is curiously similar to that of the English consolatory forms ‘now, now’ and ‘there, there’:

- (34) *à t̩fi? m̩ go*
 2M.SBJV cry NEG now
 ‘don’t cry now’; ‘now, now, don’t cry’
- (35) *à ta hay? yiya ye go baba wə də ti kwa kə*
 2M go beside Mama PERM now Papa IMPF FUT eat thing ASSC
rakway
 stranger
 ‘you go with Mama; Papa’s going to have dinner with the strangers’ (a Pévé custom)

The marker *go/gwa* does not belong to the domain of modality, as *gwa* can co-occur with the subjunctive marker *ri?*, which codes the addressee’s obligation:

- (36) *á tà rəʔ/riʔ/ go/gwa*
 1SG.SBJV walk already now
 'I'll just come on in' (not a request for permission)

Without *go/gwa* there is no sense of politeness:

- (37) *á tà riʔ-i*
 1SG.SBJV walk already
 'I'm coming in (like it or not)!'

The adverbial *sàr*, which corresponds with some usages of 'only, just' in English, narrows the scope of the state described in the construction:

- (38) *mum dǎw sar-a*
 3M one just-FV
 'he is alone' (lit. 'he is just one')

The adverbial *sàr* can be followed by *ye*, which also serves as a marker of permission (see chapter 9):

- (39) *kəri rùm brùk fǎŋ (error) fǎŋé (error)*
kəri rùm brùk fǎŋ fǎŋ ké
 then 3M.POSS monitor lizard repeat repeat pass
fǎŋyá nùm sar ye ... kə tʃiʔ-i
fǎŋ yá nùm sar ye ... kə tʃiʔ-i
 depart ('repeat leave') 3M.O just ASSC cry-FV
 'At that point (lit. 'with his time'), Monitor Lizard left again, just sobbing.'

In a clause marked for future tense, the phrase *sar ye* indicates that the event will take place in the very near future:

- (40) *ta dà ge ndoʔ sin sá sar ye*
 3F FUT finish work 3F.POSS just
 'she is just about to finish her work'

In some constructions the adverbial *sàr* indicates urgency or suddenness of the event or state:

- (41) *à tsar sar-a*
 2M arise just
 'just get up (right now)!'

- (42) *à ne mba fun sar-a*
 2M give 1PL.O boule just
 'just give us the boule (don't waste any time)!'

The clause-final adverbial *taw* 'only' narrows the scope of the event:

- (43) *mum tsof mə ha taw-a*
 3M buy PREP 2M only-FV
 'he only buys yours'

The form *taw* can be followed by the adverbial *sar*, placing emphasis on the temporal constraint:

- (44) *mum tsof mə ha taw sar-a*
 3M buy PREP 2M only-FV
 'he just buys only yours'

5 Intensity, Repetition, and Recurrence

This section describes adjuncts coding repetition, recurrence, or intensity of an event. Some adjuncts are single lexical items, some are derived through duplication, and others are prepositional phrases.

As shown in chapter 5, reduplication of the verb conveys some meanings that are conveyed by adverbs in many other languages, such as intensity or repetition of the event:

- (45) *tʃi? vay wá màn gu(n)-gun-u*
 cry child IMPF 1SG.O bother-botherv-FV
 'the child's crying always/each time bothers me' ('rep.': repetition of event)
- (46) *tú màn ti-ti*
 body 1SG.POSS eat.eat (intrans.)
 'I am very sick' (lit. 'my body is eating me')

Intensity can also be conveyed by the clause-final modifier *báyrúm* 'very, much'. The scope of the modifier is the entire clause:

- (47) *namba dáŋ? mbà tʃík báyrúm*
nambà dáŋ? [na]mbà tʃík báyrúm
 1PL all 1PL tire (V) much
 ‘All of us, we were very tired.’

- (48) *baybwò syé báyrúm*
bay b̀wò syé báyrúm
 CONJ rain fall much
 ‘And it rained a lot.’

The modifier *báyrúm* may be separated from the verb by other material:

- (49) *mota nyén dapà ga? tʃibáyrúm baĩyén dàpà ga? ...*
mòta nyen dapà ga? ti báyrúm bay nyen dapa ga?
 car (Ful.) fill bank side PROX much CONJ fill bank side
day? báyrúm tò?ò (error)¹ tà?-à
dáy? báyrúm tò? tà?-à
 DIST.F much near also-FV
 ‘Cars filled the banks on this side and that side (the other side) as well.’

- (50) *na kè swà mà bə dan púm dʒiw báyrúm*
 1SG COP person REL AGENT word hit drum well
 ‘I was a person who was a good drummer.’

Evidence that *báyrúm* is not an inherent adverb is that it may function as the modifier in a verbless clause:

- (51) *tsoɓ rum báyrúm-u*
 price 3M much-FV
 ‘its price is high’
- (52) *mum là? gbàgbóŋ kəzə báyrúm sí, kà mum kóra sìnè*
 3M COND strong CF much ASSERT then 3M leave field
nə ndó? dáy sí
 DED.M finish arrive ASSERT
 ‘if he were very strong, he would have finished the field earlier’

¹ The use of the adverbial *tò?*, meaning ‘near the speaker’, is an error when used with the phrase *ga? day?* ‘that side’. However, the adverbial *tò?* can be used with the phrase *ga? ti* ‘this side’.

The modifier *dzuk* ‘very, much’, also clause-final, has a similar function. Again, its scope is the entire clause:

- (53) *mum gã dzuk-u*
 3M freeload much-FV
 ‘he’s always freeloading (waiting for a free meal)’
- (54) *tú màn ti kum dzuk-u*
 body 1SG.POSS eat yesterday much-FV
 ‘I was too sick yesterday’ (‘my body was eating me too much’)
- (55) *yü nə wé zi gày? dzuk-u*
 squirrel FOC know play gày? much-FV
 ‘Squirrel knew how to play gày? very well.’

The modifier *tjet* ‘all’ also occurs in clause-final position. When preceded by a noun, *tjet* appears to modify the noun:

- (56) *tám tà gítsoḅ mbìr tjet-tjet-e*
 today 3F sold milk all.all-FV
 ‘today she sold **all** the milk’ (emphasis on ‘all’)

However, *tjet* may be separated from the noun by a temporal adverbial. This suggests that the scope of *tjet*, like that of *báyrúm*, is the entire clause (this cannot be captured in the English translation):

- (57) *tà gítsoḅ mbìr tám tjet-tjet-e*
 3F sell milk today all-all-FV
 ‘she sold **all** the milk today’ (not ‘she sold milk all day’)

The adverbial *tjet* can also be separated from the noun it modifies by a possessive pronoun:

- (58) *mum ti tɛw um tjet-tjet-e*
 3M ate meat 3M.POSS all-all-FV
 ‘he ate **all** his meat’

The scope of *tjet* as an adjunct that modifies the entire clause is confirmed by the fact that *tjet* follows the assertive marker *sí*, which is usually clause-final or followed only by a negative or interrogative marker:

- (59) *mum ti tɛw um si tʃɛt-tʃɛt-e*
 3M ate meat 3M.POSS ASSERT all-all-FV
 'he ate **all** his meat'

The form *tʃɛt-tʃɛt* contrasts with the form *tʃɛʔtʃɛʔ*, which codes repetition of the event. Its position may be clause-initial or clause-final:

- (60) *tʃɛʔtʃɛʔ Səray gí sìn báy tséʔ ndá Máy naʔ-a*
 always S. make work good all like M. I.PRO-FV
 'Səray always works as hard as May'

or

- (61) *Səray gí sìn báy tséʔ ndá Máy tʃɛʔtʃɛʔ-ẽ*
 S. make work good all like M. always-FV
 'Səray always works as hard as May'

The adverbial *kerker* 'always, all the time' also codes repetition or duration of the event. Use of the perfective aspect indicates that the event was bounded:

- (62) *vay bá(r) dùkrí kerker kə tʃiʔ-i*
 baby lie night all the time with cry-FV
 'the baby cried all night'

Recurrence of an event can be coded by the noun *syem* 'foot, leg, step' followed by a quantifier or numeral:

- (63) *na tá Mora syem ráw si*
 1SG go M. time ('foot') many ASSERT
 'I have been to Mora many times'
- (64) *mum gí ndá naʔ (pause) syəm dǎw syəm hwɔɔb*
mum gí ndá na syem dǎw syem hoɔ
 3M do like I.PRO time one time two
 'He did that once, twice.'

Reference to a single instantiation of a repeated event is marked by *syem*+Numeral followed by the inalienable possessive pronoun *rùm*:

- (65) *syə́mínzĩ?* *rùm* *na?* (pause) *mum pyáwa* *nem*
syem *híndzĩ?* *rùm* *na* (pause) *mum pé* *wa* *ne*
time three 3M.POSS I.PRO 3M hit head ADP
 vay *dzənàk* *màfin* *rùm* *bay* *dzənàk*
mi [corr.: *kə*] *vay* *dzənàk* *məsin* *rùm* *bay* *dzənàk*
ASSC child guinea fowl other 3M.POSS CONJ guinea fowl
nə *ʒé* *kə* *tʃiʔ-i*
nə *ʒé* *kə* *tʃiʔ-i*
DED.M start ASSC cry-FV
‘The third time, he hit a young guinea fowl (lit. ‘a child guinea fowl among them’) on the head, and the guinea fowl suddenly started to cry.’

The notion of ‘never’ can be conveyed by a negative clause involving the adverbial *tʃiʔtʃiʔ* ‘always’:

- (66) *tʃiʔtʃiʔ* *mum tsú* *tsoɓ mə* *na* *mì* *àmá* *mum tsoɓ mə* *ha*
always 3M NEG buy PREP 1SG NEG but 3M buy PREP 2M
sar-a
only-FV
‘he never buys (what is) mine but he only buys (what is) yours’

The notion of ‘never’ can also be conveyed by the inherently negative adverbial *kpe*, which does not occur in the affirmative clause:

- (67) *mum tsú* *sá* *tsoɓ kpe* *mì*
3M NEG 3F.O buy never NEG
‘he never buys it’

The adverbial *ʔwá?* ‘still, yet’ (probably from the adjective *ʔwá?* ‘calm’) in a clause in the unmarked aspect indicates an activity in progress:

- (68) *handay zá?* *dzənàk* *wə* *ri* *ʒi* *gày?* *nday nə* *ʔwá?*
3PL find guinea fowl PREP place play *gày?* 3PL DED.M still
‘They found the guinea fowls in the (same) place, still playing *gày?*’

The clause-final adverbial *tò?* ‘yet’, used in the negative construction, indicates that the event was not completed at the time of speech. The source of *tò?* is probably the spatial proximate marker *tò?* ‘near the speaker’:

- (69) *nambà tsú bá só ndo? mə to?-o*
 1PL NEG clean house finish NEG yet-FV
 'we did not clean the house yet'

The clause-final adverbial *bra* corresponds to 'too, also':

- (70) *à gi ye bra*
 2M.SBJV do PERM too
 'you can do it, too!'

The adverbial *tà?* 'also' in clause-final position links the event of the preceding phrase or clause with that of the clause before it:

- (71) *mota nyén dapà ga? tʃibáyrúm baĩyén dàpà ga? ...*
mòta nyen dapà ga? ti báyrúm bay nyen dapa ga?
 car (Ful.) fill bank side PROX much CONJ fill bank side
day? báyrúm tò?ò (error)² tà?-à
dáy? báyrúm tò? tà?-à
 DIST.F much near also-FV
 'Cars filled the banks on this side and that side as well.'

- (72) *Taú tá lúmò bay Gwà tá lúmò tà?-à*
 T. go market CONJ G. go market also-FV
 'Tau and Gwa both went to the market'

Without *tà?*, the events of clauses conjoined by *bay* are considered to be separate or sequential:

- (73) *Taú tá lúmò bay Gwà tá lúmò*
 T. go market CONJ G. go market
 'Tau went to the market and (then) Gwa also went to the market'

² The use of the adverbial *tò?*, meaning 'near the speaker', is an error when used with the phrase *ga? day?* 'that side'. However, the adverbial *tò?* can be used with the phrase *ga? ti* 'this side'.

6 Purpose Clauses

The form *kádàn*, probably a compound consisting of the associative preposition *kə* and the noun *dàn* ‘word, matter’, marks the clause that follows as the purpose of the preceding clause:

- (74) *nambà ùm də kə Bár bay mum də ta? semdə um*
 1PL 3M.O name ASSC Bar CONJ 3M go also name 3M.POSS
mi ne kádàn hi ke kə we rum kə báyrúm
 what ADP PURP 2PL COP ASSC know 3M.POSS ASSC very
báy
 well
 ‘We call him “Bar”, but he will also say his name so that you will get to know him well.’

- (75) *bənaynə fǎmbágədàn ve sùlay n-a*
bay na ni fǎṇmbá kádàn ve sàlay n-à
 CONJ 1SG PROX repeat come PURP take money DED.M-FV
 ‘So I have come again to get the money.’

- (76) *na mbá kádàn wum ín kwá*
 1SG come PURP learn read (‘tell thing’)
 ‘I came here to learn to read’

- (77) *na rá? tím̀bì kunə kádàn gi tsoḃ rum-u*
 1SG take calabash PL PURP sell 3M.POSS-FV
 ‘I took the calabashes to sell them’

The same-subject purpose clause may have an overt subject, which renders it an independent clause:

- (78) *handày mbá kádàn handày káw bá ndzì*
 3PL come PURP 3PL help (‘take hand’) RECIP
 ‘they came so that they could help each other’

In the following sentence the purpose clause is not marked by *kádàn* and does not have a subject. The result is a sequence of two compound verbs, *ɣá táy* ‘to depart for’ and *gi tsoḃ* ‘to sell’. Omission of the purpose marker *kádàn* is a likely source for some serial verb constructions:

- (79) *brògò ... ʔá táy ɡi tsoɓ dābāwə só*
brùk-ù ... ʔá tá ɡi tsoɓ dābā? wə só
 monitor lizard-FV depart for sell tobacco PREP village
dzənàk-à
dzənàk-à
 guinea fowl-FV
 'A monitor lizard went to sell tobacco in [a] village of guinea fowls.'

7 Reason Clauses

An adjunct clause describing the reason or cause for an event may be marked by the preposition *zə* 'for, under':

- (80) *mum lé? né nəm ha lambə ha man yè*
mum lá? ne nùm ha lá? mbà ha màn (dà) yè
 3M say ADP 3M.O 2M COND come 2M 1SG.O FUT know
sí zə wa rìn fol-o
sí zə wa rìn fol-o
 ASSERT PREP head 1SG.POSS whitish-FV
 'He told him, "If you come here, you (will) know me because my head is whitish."'

- (81) *handày pík né zə zá dām kú*
 3PL flee PREP brush build fire
 'they fled because of the brush fire'

The preposition *zə* followed by the question word *mi* forms a question about reason (cf. chapter 13):

- (82) *zə mi ha ʔí nàn su*
 PREP what 2M insult 1SG.O Q
 'why did you insult me?'

8 Positive Adjunct

Pévé has an adjunct whose function is to emphasize the existence or actuality of an event or state. Native speaker Wambadang views the function of *katá?* as the opposite of that of the negative marker *tsu ... mi* (see chapter 14), hence

the use of the term ‘positive adjunct’. The adjunct in question, *kətaʔ*, occurs in sentence-final or clause-final position. The English translation is approximate:

- (83) *ha wé kwa tí kətaʔ-a*
 2M see thing PROX.F POS-FV
 ‘you really saw something’

- (84) *mum làʔ də mbə kətáʔ si sáyʔ na gíláʔ tú*
 3M COND FUT come POS REL OBLIG 1SG ready body
rìn-ì
 1SG.POSS-FV
 ‘if he actually comes, I must be ready’

Evidence that *kətáʔ* is an adjunct is that the form can be deleted from a sentence with very little change in meaning. In the following sentence, the use of *kətáʔ* emphasizes the past-time temporal status of the clause:

- (85) *namba ké ká sàlay kətáʔ-a*
 1PL COP ASSC money POS-FV
 ‘we **used** to have money’ (but not anymore)

Removing *kətaʔ* does not affect grammatical or temporal relations, but simply removes emphasis from the temporal status:

- (86) *namba ké ká sàlay-a*
 1PL COP ASSC money-FV
 ‘we used to have money’

Further evidence for the positive function of *kətaʔ* is that the form cannot occur in the same clause with the negative marker (*tsu*) ... *mì*:

- (87) *ta tsú kə sàlay mì *kətáʔ-a*
 3F NEG ASSC money NEG POS-FV
 for ‘she does not have money’ (or any other meaning)

It is likely that the first syllable of the positive marker *kətáʔ* stems from the associative preposition *kə*. A potential source for the syllable *táʔ* is the verb *táʔ* ‘show’ (see chapter 8 and elsewhere).

9 Conclusion

Adjuncts in Pévé include nouns denoting various points in time, which function as temporal adjuncts without further marking; prepositional phrases; inherent modifiers; and modifiers derived through reduplication. The adjunct is in either clause-initial or clause-final position and its scope of modification is the entire clause. Semantic domains of adjuncts include time, manner, associative/instrumental, repetition, duration, intensity, purpose, and reason.

Sample Texts

1 Monitor Lizard and Guinea Fowl

The following text is a traditional Pévé folktale as told by Lazare Wambadang in Maroua, Cameroon, in 2012. The author and collaborator worked together to record, transcribe, and analyze the lexical and grammatical morphemes used in the tale. Tones in the transcription are based on analysis of the recordings and further analyses based on Praat software, designed for scientific phonetic analysis. The English translation is colloquial and is intended to capture the literary tone of the folktale.

- (1) *ndʒin màn lʒe si*
 story 1SG.POSS start ASSERT
 'My story begins.'
- (2) *ndʒin màn na*
 story 1SG.POSS I.PRO
 'Here is my story.'
- (3) *fəta məsín brùk ʔá ta gi tsoɓ dábáʔ wá só*
 day other monitor lizard depart for sell tobacco PREP village
dzənàk-à
 guinea fowl-FV
 'The other day, the Monitor Lizard set out to sell tobacco in the village of the guinea fowls.'
- (4) *kəri mənɪ mum tá dáy wá só dzənàk kunə si mum*
 when 3M reach PREP village guinea fowl PL ASSERT 3M
záʔ ndáy [wá...] gáyʔ zə gú
 found 3PL.O (error) sit under tree
 'When he arrived at the village of the guinea fowls, he found them sitting under a tree.'
- (5) *bay dzənàk məsín daw té bal dábáʔ ná ba rùm-u*
 CONJ guinea fowl other one took debt tobacco ADP hand 3M-FV
 'And one of the guinea fowls bought some tobacco on credit (lit. 'to his hand').'

- (6) *mum lá? ne kə brùk na mum gewa mbà*
 3M say ADP ASSC monitor lizard-FV I.PRO 3M come back
səday? ... kádàn ve ... səlay um.... 6o
 two days later PURP take money 3M.POSS PROM
 ‘He₁ told Monitor Lizard he should come back in two days to get his money back—definitely.’
- (7) *kəri məní mum ín ne nùm ndə na bruk gwa? tǝ*
 when 3M say PREP 3M like I.PRO monitor lizard now ask
vun rùm-u syemde wǝ de ma su
 mouth 3M.POSS-FV name 2M call what Q
 ‘When he (Guinea Fowl) told him that, Monitor Lizard asked him, “What is your name?”’
- (8) *mum lá? ne nùm ha lá? mbə si ha mən yè*
 3M say ADP 3M.O 2M COND come ASSERT 2M 1SG.O know
si zə wa rìn fòl-o
 ASSERT because head 1SG.POSS whitish-FV
 ‘He told him, “If you come here, you will know me.”’
- (9) *brùk fán ʔya ʔé*
 monitor lizard repeat return to origin start
 ‘Monitor Lizard headed back home again.’
- (10) *kəri məní mum gewa mbə səday? mum mbə zá?*
 when 3M return come two days later 3M come find
dzənàk gáy? zə gú ràw wə ʔi gày?-i
 guinea fowl stay under tree many IMPF play gáy?-FV
 ‘When he came back two days later, he found a bunch of guinea fowls under a tree playing gáy? (a Pévé game involving small stones, somewhat similar to mancala).’
- (11) *bay dzənàk məsin dǝw tǝvun rùm-u ha mbə wà? mi*
 CONJ guinea fowl other one ask 3M.POSS 2M come want what
su bay
 Q friend
 ‘And one of the guinea fowls asked him, “What did you come here for, buddy?”’

- (12) *mum lá?á εε swə məsín dù ri dǎw té bal dǎbǎ?*
 3M say eh man other within 2PL.POSS one take credit tobacco
màn wǎy zà? kúm-ú
 1SG.POSS day before yesterday-FV
 'He said, "One of you took my tobacco on credit (lit. 'my tobacco's credit') the day before yesterday.'"
- (13) *bay mum lá? á fǎŋ mbə tám kédàn ve sàlày*
 CONJ 3M say 1SG.SBJV return today PURP collect money
màn-a
 1SG.POSS-FV
 "And he said I should come back today to collect my money."
- (14) *bay na ni fǎŋ mbə kédàn ve sàlày màn na*
 CONJ 1SG PROX return PURP collect money 1SG.POSS I.PRO
 "And I have come back to collect my money."
- (15) *bay mum tʃi:vun syemde rùm-u de ma su*
 CONJ 3M ask name 3M.POSS-FV call what Q
 'And he (Guinea Fowl) asked him, "What is his name?"'
- (16) *mum lá? i na mum tá? tu rùm né nan*
 3M say COMP I.PRO 3M show body 3M.POSS ADP 1SG.O
si mum lá? i na wa rùm fòl-o
 ASSERT 3M say COMP I.PRO head 3M.POSS whitish-FV
 'He said he would show himself to me and he said that his head was whitish.'
- (17) *na la? mbə si na gǎk ùm zà? si*
 1SG COND come COND 1SG be able 3M.O find ASSERT
 'If I came, I could find him.'
- (18) *bay dzənàk gwa? in ùm ne na à kar ri?*
 CONJ guinea fowl then say 3M.O ADP I.PRO 2M look already
bay nambà ni tʃét wa mbà fòlfòl dǎŋ?
 friend 1PL DEM all head 1PL.POSS white.white all
 'Then Guinea Fowl told him, "Look here, buddy, we all have whitish heads.'"

- (19) *bay ha dā we sa kə sa su*
 CONJ 2M FUT recognize who ASSC who Q
 ‘So how will you know who is who?’
- (20) *kəri rùm bruk fáŋ ʔyá num sàrye*
 then 3M.POSS monitor lizard repeat return to origin 3M.O just
kə tʃiʔ-i
 ASSC cry-FV
 ‘At that point Monitor Lizard headed back home, just crying.’
- (21) *kəri məní num fáŋ d-a mum ndéwa kə yii*
 when 3M repeat go-FV 3M meet ASSC squirrel
 ‘On his way back home, he met Squirrel.’
- (22) *bay yú gwàʔ tʃi vun rùm ha tʃiʔ mi su bay ha tʃiʔ*
 CONJ squirrel then ask 3M.POSS 2M cry what Q friend 2M cry
mi ndə na su
 what like I.PRO Q
 ‘And then Squirrel asks him, “Why are you crying, friend? Why are you crying like that?”’
- (23) *bruk dām vun rùm fáŋ tɛ zə dan mə*
 monitor lizard answer M.POSS repeat take under word REL
ní dzənàk gí kə rùm na in ne nùm
 R.PRO guinea fowl do ASSC 3M.OP I.PRO say ADP 3M.O
 ‘Monitor Lizard answered him, told him what Guinea Fowl had done to him; he told him about it.’
- (24) *yo ...εε ... yii gwaʔ láʔ ne nùm na à gewa—*
 so (Ful.) eh squirrel then say ADP 3M I.PRO 2M.SBJV return
à faŋ ye [na]mbà faŋ zàʔ dzənàk ...
 2M.SBJV repeat PERM 1PL repeat find— guinea fowl
dzənàk kun-a
 guinea fowl DED.PL-FV
 ‘So ... then Squirrel said to him, “Go back—again; we (will) find the guinea fowl again—the guinea fowls.”’

(25) *kəri məní handay fáy ta day dzənàk handay zá? dzənàk*
 when 3PL repeat arrive guinea fowl 3PL find guinea fowl
wə ri zi gày? nday nə ɔwá?
 PREP place play gày? 3PL I.PRO always/still
 'When they got back to the guinea fowls, they found them in the same place, still playing gày?.'

(26) *bay yii ɛ́ kə zi gày? kə nday*
 CONJ squirrel start ASSC play gày? ASSC 3PL.O
 'Squirrel started playing gày? with them.'

(27) *yii nə yé zi gày? gæk mi*
 squirrel I.PRO know play gày? be able NEG
 'Squirrel knew how to play gày? like no one else could.'

(28) *kəriməmlà? ɔwáy gày? sì dáy? mum par*
kəri məní mum là? ɔwáy dáy? sì dáy? mum par
 when 3M COND win game ASSERT all 3M remove
váy gay? dǎw mum pyé wà ne kə dzənàk kə
vay gay? dǎw mum pe wa ne kə dzənàk kə
 child game one 3M hit head ADP ASSC guinea fowl ASSC
ndi
ndi
 3SG.O
 'Each time he won the game, he took a playing piece (*vay gay?*) and hit a guinea fowl on the head with it.'

(29) *mum gí ndá na syem dǎw syem hoɓ*
 3M did like I.PRO time one time two
 'He did that once, twice.'

(30) *syem híndzi? rùm na mum pé wa ne kə] vay*
 time three 3M.POSS I.PRO 3M hit head ADP ASSC child
dzənàk masin rùm bay dzənàk nə ɛ́ kə
 guinea fowl other 3M.POSS CONJ guinea fowl DED.M start-FV start
tʃi?i
 ASSC
 'The third time, he hit a young guinea fowl on the head, and the guinea fowl suddenly started to cry.'

- (31) *mum lá? hě ha tʃi? ma ndó bə-te bal dəbā?*
 3M say INTERJ 2M cry how like AGT(m.)-take credit tobacco
brùk nə? su
 monitor lizard ADP Q
 'He (Squirrel) said, "Hey, why are you crying like the guy who took credit for the Monitor Lizard's tobacco?"'
- (32) *dzənàk gwa? dām vun rùm-u mə na tsú mi*
 guinea fowl then answer 3M.O-FV REL 1SG NEG NEG
 'Guinea Fowl said, "It wasn't mine!"'
- (33) *bay sa na su*
 CONJ who I.PRO Q
 'So who was it?' (Squirrel speaking)
- (34) *mum lá? i Taobay na*
 3M say COMP T. I.PRO
 'He (the guinea fowl) said that it was Taobay.'
- (35) *bay Taobay na ga? ka su*
 CONJ T. I.PRO side which Q
 'And where is this Taobay?' (Squirrel talking)
- (36) *kəri rùm nday fáj káw Taobay mum gé dəwā səlay bruk*
 then 3PL arrest T. 3M reimburse money monitor lizard
ne nùm-u
 ADP 3M-FV
 'Then they arrested Taobay and he gave Monitor Lizard his money.'
- (37) *njin màn ndó? zu si*
 story 1SG.POSS finish under ASSERT
 'My story is over.'

2 Bus Trip: Lazare Wambadang

The following non-fiction narrative was related by Lazare Wambadang in 2012 and was transcribed and translated by author and collaborator in the course of fieldwork. The narrative has been subject to considerable analysis in producing the present volume. Again, the transcription of tone was augmented by the use of Praat software.

- (1) *na wà? dan in dan wá dan vari rəkway mənɪ na gí*
 1SG want PURP tell about trip ('road stranger') when 1SG make
wǎy mbok Maroua kə Garoua fɛ́ta Friday mə(nasal)
 last time between M. ASSC G. day Friday REL
wǎy ʒé na
 last time pass I.PRO
 'I would like to tell the story about my most recent trip from Maroua to Garoua last Friday.'
- (2) *namba ʔyá tí ndzike vat mə rɪya*
 1PL leave PROX hour five REL evening
 'We left here (from Maroua, spoken in Maroua) at 5 in the evening.'
- (3) *bay bűwǒ syé báyrum*
 CONJ rain fall much
 'It had rained a lot.'
- (4) *kəri mənɪ nambà tá? day wə só mə də kə Salák namba*
 when 1PL arrive PREP village REL call ASSC Salak 1PL
zá? mbi mbá báyrum wá ʒé salák na
 find water come much PREP river Salak I.PRO
 'When we got to the village of Salák (Giz.) we found a lot of water in the Salak river.'
- (5) *mòta tsú gak tsuwal dǎw mi*
 car NEG be able traverse one NEG
 'Not one car could cross it.'
- (6) *mòta nyén dapà ga? ti báyrúm bay nyén dapà ga?*
 car (Ful.) fill bank side PROX.F much CONJ fill bank side
dáy? báyrúm tà?-à
 DIST.F much also-FV
 'Cars filled the riverbanks on this side and the other side (of the river).'
- (7) *nambà gáy? vun ʒe nə daka ndzike sɛdà? há dáy*
 1PL stay mouth river DED.M from iron seven until arrive
ndzike vat mə vun bəkà
 iron five REL mouth morning
 'We stayed by the side of the reiver from seven o'clock until five o'clock in the morning.'

- (8) *bay mota mə ni na han rawti rùm n-a zà?*
 CONJ car (Ful.) REL PRO 1SG there inside 3M.POSS POST-FV find
tsúwál zè nə kə ndzìke fǎdĩ? mə gà? bàkà
 cross river DED.M ASSC iron four REL side morning
 'Then the car I was sitting in there managed to cross the river at four o'clock in the morning.'
- (9) *namba dáy? namba tǝk báyrúm*
 1PL all 1PL tire(V) very
 'All of us were very tired.'
- (10) *bay namba tá? káwri Garoua kə njike tsóho? mə kə*
 CONJ 1PL went arrive G. ASSC hour eight REL ASSC
bàkà
 morning
 'We arrived in Garoua at eight a.m.'
- (11) *kəri mǝni na tá dáy só mǝn na tǝk báyrúm*
 when 1SG go arrive house 1SG.POSS 1SG tire (V) much
 'When I got home I was very tired.'
- (12) *na bá rì ba bày na ndé fyèn há njike vát*
 1SG lie down place rest(N) CONJ 1SG fall sleep until hour five
mə riyà
 REL afternoon
 'I lay down in bed and slept until five p.m.'
- (13) *vari rəkway rum gí ndə na?-à*
 road stranger 3M make like I.PRO-FV
 'That's what the trip was like.'

A Compilation of Tables

1 Introduction

This appendix consists of a compilation of pronominal and referential markers discussed in various chapters, followed by a summary of word orders and the functions they encode.

2 Tables

A. Possessive pronouns (see chapter 5). Alienable possessor pronouns are identical with non-perfective object pronouns (see table B), while inalienable possessor pronouns are identical with objects of prepositions (see table D):

	Alienable possessor	Inalienable possessor
1SG	<i>màn</i>	<i>rìn</i>
2M	<i>wǔ</i>	<i>rù</i>
2F	<i>màŋ</i>	<i>rìŋ</i>
3M	<i>ùm</i>	<i>rùm</i>
3F	<i>só</i>	<i>só</i>
1PL	<i>mbà</i>	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>mì</i>	<i>rì</i>
3PL	<i>ndày</i>	<i>ndày</i>

B. Pronominal objects of prepositions (chapter 5)

	Pronouns used as objects of prepositions
1SG	<i>rìn</i>
2M	<i>rù</i>
2F	<i>rìŋ</i>
3M	<i>rùm</i>

(cont.)

Pronouns used as objects of prepositions	
3F	<i>sá</i>
1PL	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>rì</i>
3PL	<i>ndây</i>

C. Indicative and subjunctive subject pronouns (chapter 6)

		Subjunctive (SBJV) subject pronouns	
		Informal	Formal
1SG	<i>na</i>	<i>á</i>	
2M	<i>ha</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>ì</i>
2F	<i>hý, háy</i>	<i>ỳ, ày</i>	<i>ì</i>
3M	<i>mum</i>	<i>nà</i>	
3F	<i>ta</i>	<i>tà</i>	
1PL	<i>nambà</i>	<i>má</i>	
2PL	<i>hí</i>	<i>ì ... (ní)</i>	<i>ì</i>
3PL	<i>handây</i>	<i>mà</i>	

D. Perfective/subjunctive and non-perfective object pronouns (chapter 6)

Perfective/subjunctive object		Non-perfective object
1SG	<i>nàn</i>	<i>màn</i>
2M	<i>nù</i>	<i>wũ</i>
2F	<i>nàŋ</i>	<i>màŋ</i>
3M	<i>nùm</i>	<i>ùm</i>
3F	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá</i>
1PL	<i>mbà</i>	<i>mbà</i>
2PL	<i>nì</i>	<i>mì</i>
3PL	<i>ndây</i>	<i>ndây</i>

E. Reference markers

Category	Fem.	Masc.	Pl.	English equivalent(s)
Proximal demonstrative*	<i>ti</i>	<i>ni</i>	n/a	'here'
Distal demonstrative	<i>dáy?</i>	<i>náy?</i>	n/a	'there'
Proximal determiner	<i>ti</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kunə</i>	'this', 'these'
Distal determiner	<i>dáy?</i>	<i>náy?</i>	<i>kunə</i>	'that', 'those'
Deducible reference marker	<i>rə</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>kunə</i>	'the'
Post-relative marker	<i>rə</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>kunə</i>	'who', 'that', 'which'
Previously mentioned object of a preposition	<i>ndí</i>	<i>ndí</i>	<i>nday</i>	'it', 'them'
Resumptive pronoun	<i>ti</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	n/a

* **Note:** 'Demonstrative' refers to a free morpheme, while 'determiner' refers to a pre-nominal marker. Demonstratives are used only in spatial reference, while determiners play a role in anaphoric and spatial reference.

F. Order of constituents and coding means for grammatical relations (chapter 6). In the following table, the marker _N indicates that the argument is represented by a full noun, the marker _{PRO} indicates that the argument is represented by a pronoun, and the marker _{N/PRO} indicates that the argument may be represented by either a noun or a pronoun.

Order of constituents		
Participants involved	Perfective/subjunctive	Non-perfective
S, O _N	S V O	S (T/A) V O
S, O _{PRO}	S V O	S (T/A) O V
S, IO _{N/PRO}	S V <i>ne</i> IO	S (T/A) V IO <i>ne</i>
S, O _{N/PRO} , IO _{PRO}	S V O <i>ne</i> IO, S V <i>ne</i> IO O, S V IO O	S (T/A) V O IO <i>ne</i> , S (T/A) IO V O
S, O _{N/PRO} , IO _N	S V O <i>ne</i> <i>kə</i> IO	S (T/A) V O <i>kə</i> IO

A Summary of Morphological Forms and Functions

1 Introduction

This appendix is a compilation of commonly used morphological morphemes and their basic functions, as described and illustrated throughout the volume. The list does not include all grammatical forms and functions found in Pév  but is intended to serve as a broad reference guide for those who are reading or have read the volume. The functions and positions listed here, as well as the English translations, are not definitive nor complete, but are designed to assist readers in examining various forms and functions for future studies.

Form	Function(s)	Position	English translation
<i>à má</i>	Coordinating conjunction	clause-initial; clause-final	‘but’
<i>bay</i>	Coordinating conjunction	clause-initial; clause-medial	‘and’
<i>bo</i>	Speaker’s promise or prediction	clause-final	‘for sure’
<i>dà</i>	Future tense marker	pre-verbal	‘will’
<i>í</i>	Complementizer	clause-initial	‘that’
<i>ka</i>	Question word (location)	clause-initial	‘where’
<i>kè</i>	Copula referring to past or future time	post-subject	‘was’, ‘will be’
<i>kə ma</i>	Question word (time)	clause-initial	‘when’
<i>kè mǎ</i>	Focus marker	pre-nominal	‘was’, ‘will be’
<i>ká</i>	Associative preposition	pre-nominal	‘with’
<i>kə ma</i>	Question word (human)	clause-initial	‘who’
<i>kəriməni</i>	Temporal marker	clause-initial	‘when’
<i>kǎzǎ</i>	Counterfactual modality	clause-final	‘not’
<i>là?</i>	Conditional marker	clause-initial	‘if’
<i>ma</i>	Question word (manner)	clause-initial; post-verbal	‘how’
<i>mǎ</i>	Relative marker	post-nominal	‘who’, ‘that’
<i>mi</i>	Question word (non-human)	clause-initial; post-verbal	‘what’
<i>na</i>	Impersonal pronoun	clause-final	‘that’, ‘it’, ‘this’

(cont.)

Form	Function(s)	Position	English translation
<i>ne</i>	Indirect object marker	pre- or post-nominal	'to', 'for'
<i>ndá</i>	Comparative marker	phrase-initial	'like'
<i>ndzì</i>	Reciprocal marker	phrase-final	'each other'
<i>sa</i>	Question word (human participant)	clause-initial; post-verbal	'who'
<i>si</i>	Assertive modality	clause-final	'definitely'
<i>su</i>	Question marker	phrase-final	'?'
<i>tsú ... mì</i>	Negative marker	clause-final	'not'
<i>wó</i>	Imperfective aspect marker	pre-verbal	'is/was (Verb)-ing'
<i>zè mì</i>	Question word	clause-initial	'why' (lit. 'for what')

Pévé-English Lexicon

1 Introduction

The Pévé-English lexicon in this chapter is organized according to the International Phonetic Alphabet, with some additions and exceptions. In general, the order of vowels as entered in the lexicon is *i, e, ə, a, o*, and *u*; the consonant or fricative (e.g. *ndz, ɲ*) precedes the palatalized form (*ndʒ, ɲʲ*); and the non-glottalized form (*b, d*) precedes the glottalized form (*ɓ, ɗ*). Because some existing written works on Pévé do not use IPA symbols, the symbols used in those works are shown in brackets after the corresponding IPA symbols, such as *ɓ* [b'], *dʒ* [j, dʒ]. Abbreviations are used in the lexicon as they are in the text.

As shown in chapter 2 (Phonology), there are a number of free variations in pronunciation, especially in morphemes that begin with a stop or fricative followed by a high or mid front vowel. In the Pévé-English lexicon, the Pévé form in the left-hand column represents the native speaker's perception of the underlying form, e.g. *ɲinə* 'field', while the form in the right-hand column of the English-Pévé lexicon (chapter 24) may include the underlying form and free variations as transcribed by the author, e.g. *ɲinə* or *sine*.

Needless to say, the two lexicons do not represent a complete list of lexical items and morphemes in the Pévé language; there are many more to be examined and described. The items listed below represent those attested in the data and others whose forms and/or translations may be of interest to the reader.

2 Pévé-English Lexicon

a

á (PRO) 1SG subject pronoun (subjunctive)
à (PRO) 2M subject pronoun (informal subjunctive)
àdà, dá, dá (N) dog (dialectal forms)
ámá (CONJ) but (counterexpectation) (Ar.)
ar (V) to leave behind
àtsíw (N) knife
awo (INTERJ) yes

b

ba (PART) prenominal gender marker (masc.)
ba (N) place to rest or lie down
bàfyek (N) corn, maize
bal (N) credit, debt
bambí (N) Grandpa (term of address)
bà(r) (V) to lie down, to spend time, to spend the night
bara (V) pond, lake
bay (N) friend
be díw (N) honeycomb

be(r) (N) shield
bə- (PART) masculine singular *nomen agentis* prefix (from *ba* male)
bə, ba (N, V) love; to love
bəba (ADD) Papa, Dad (term of address)
bə-gay? gú (N) carpenter ('one who pounds wood')
bə-kaw gaḁ (N) male healer ('one who grabs illness')
bə-kwra (N) farmer ('one who cultivates')
bə-ri kəda (N) blacksmith ('one who shapes metal')
bəbá (N) father (term of address)
bə̀kà (N) morning
blim (N) type of drum
boknáy (N) elephant
bók (N) fabric made from hide
bòk (N) vulture
bòksod (N) scavenger
bò? (N) type of melon (smooth skin, yellowish flesh, must be cooked before eating)
bra (CONJ) also, too
brà (N) traditional weapon
brò? (ADJ) ugly, nasty, angry
brùk (N) monitor lizard
bù (N) your father; (alternate form *ba* wũ 'father 2M.POSS'; see *ba* 'father')
bubud (N) crumbs
bùwò (N) rain
byek (V, N) 1. to wait (for); 2. slave (Mun. *byák*; Elders 2000)
ḁ [b']
ḁá (N) hand
ḁawa (V) gather together (intrans.); (re-)unite
(ḁa)wa (N) reunion

ḁáy (ADJ) good, pretty
ḁay (CONJ) clausal conjunction ('and')
ḁày (N) beauty, goodness
ḁáyrum (INTENS) very, much
ḁě (V) to shoot with an arrow; to pick small things (plural object)
ḁee (IDEO) goat's call; bleat ('baa')
ḁě? (ADJ) naughty
ḁəray (N) half-sibling
ḁo (ADV, PART) still, yet; modal particle coding speaker's promise
ḁu (V, N) 1. to cheat someone; to deceive someone; 2. temptation; deception
ḁu vay (V) to calm a baby

d

daka (PREP) from
dám (V) 1. to ascend, rise, climb out of; 2. to jump up and down; 3. to pluck; 4. *dàm (kwá)* to sew
dàm (kwá) (V) to sew
dan (PREP) without
dàn (N, V) 1. word; 2. to speak
dány? (ADJ) all, everyone
dangráw? (N) praying mantis (insect)
dapà (N) bank of river; shed (N)
dàw (N) children (sg. *vay*)
dàwre (N) small children (diminutive)
dày (N) dirt
dáy (V) to arrive at, to reach
dayna (PREP) after
dáyri (V) to arrive at a place
dáy? (DEM) feminine distal determiner
dá, dá, àdà (dial.) (N) dog
dà (V, PART) 1. to go, to travel; 2. future tense marker

dənaɪ (N) clay
dəwã (N, PREP) 1. back; 2. behind
dram (N) muddy ground
dray? (zù?) (N) pestle
dù (PREP) among; within; in the middle of
duɓ (N) back (body part); flute made from an animal horn
dùk (N) heart; liver; center
dukri (N) night

d [d']

dàk (V) to touch
dām (V) to reply, to respond
dām (V) to build a house
dāw (NUM) one
dāw mi (ADJ) none; not one
dāw?dāw? (QUANT) many; a lot
dē (V) to call, to name
dədol(o) (N) drop (of liquid)
dərwa (N) book
dəre? (ADJ) small (PL)
dəbā? (N) tobacco (Fr. *tabac*)
dī (V) to prepare food that requires stirring (e.g. *boule*)
dík (V) to believe; to think
dūm (V) to lose
dūm ur (V) to be pregnant
dūm wa (V) to forget ('lose head')
dūr (V) to pick (e.g. fruit) (singular object)

dz

dzənàk (N) guinea fowl
dzəràk (ADJ) long
dzòk (V) to pound grain with a mortar and pestle
dzò? (V) 1. to plant; 2. to scoop up something thick

dzra?dzrà? (IDEO) to hop/skip around; roller-coaster road

dzùk (V) to despise
dzùku (INTENS) very; much

dʒ [j, dž]

dʒaŋ (V) to grow up; to ripen
dʒek (N) a small melon with white flesh
dʒí (N, V) 1. dense forest; 2. to oversee, to care for; 3. gum at the base of a tooth
dʒi wa (V) to wait for someone or something
dʒí (N, V) to watch over, to care for, to herd
dʒidʒib (N) cassava (manioc)
dʒwə (N) chief
dʒyew (N) tent, shelter
dʒyèw (V) to tie something
dʒyèw dʒyèw (N) small tomtom

e [é]

el (ONO) the crow of a rooster

ə [e]

əŋ ~ ɲ (PRO) 2F subject pronoun (subjunctive)

f

faŋ (V, ADV) to repeat; again
fə (V) to acquire; to receive
fǎdĩ? (NUM) four
fǎtá (N) dry season
fǎtà (N) day, sun; *fǎtà riya* twilight
fí (N) waist
fól (V, ADJ) to slaughter; whitish
fray (N) sky, above
fún (N) 1. *boule* (stiff dish made of boiled guinea corn); 2. food

fúntáy tá (N) boule without sauce; *ne fúntáy tá* ('give boule without sauce') = 'to show contempt'

fýek fýek (ONO) 'small holes, perforations'

g

gã (N, V) 1. brush, low trees; 2. free meal; 3. to freeload

gàám (N) crazy; mentally disturbed

gáb (N) illness

gàk (V) to be able

gám (N) male sheep

gáo (N) hunter

gáy? (V) 1. to sit, to stay, to rest (plural subject); 2. to pound something

gay? (N) game similar to mankala, involving 12 holes in the ground. Each player gets 4 pieces and tries to drive away the other pieces.

ga? (N) side

gǎ? (N) broth made with cold water and grain

gá?rí-(gá?rí) (ADV) quickly

ge (V) to throw (at a target); to crow like a rooster

ge dǎwǎ (V) to give back to; to reimburse

ge kalam (V) to hurt (trans.); to injure

ge nē? (V) to curse at (lit. 'throw curse')

ge ndo? (V) to finish

ge vun (V) to speak (a language) (lit. 'throw mouth')

gewa (V) to return to the place of origin ('to throw head')

gi (V) to do, to make, to cook; *gi tsoǒ* sell ('make purchase')

gila? (V) to help; to repair

gila? tu (V) to get ready (*tu* 'body')

gi fin (V) to work ('make work (N)')

go(o) (PART) consolatory expression

gop bushes, brush

griŋ (V) to be saddened; to be surprised

gú (N) tree

gu- (PART) ten times [numeral], e.g. *guhoǒ* 20 ('ten times two')

guǒ (NUM) ten

gula vǎswǎ (N) heart ('the gourd of blood')

gulok (N) rooster

gwa (PART) 'now now' (consoling expression)

gwá? (ADV) 'now'

gwa? (V) 'stay too long, dawdle'

gwǎ?(tu) (V) 'itch, scratch'

gwet (N) caution

gb

gbàgbón (ADJ) strong, forceful

gw

gwa? (CONJ) then

gwǎ? (N) tiny flying insect

gway? (N) mountain

gwrá (N) circumcision

gwri? (ADJ) thick, sturdy

ɣ [gh]

ɣàr (V) to hurry

ɣaw (N, V) 1. fight; 2. to fight

h

ha (PRO) 2M subject pronoun (indicative)

hǎ (PREP) until (Fulani, Mundang, Hausa)

han (DEM) there (non-deictic reference to location)

handàɣ (PRO) 3PL subject pronoun
(indicative)
hay? (PREP) near, next to, beside
hē (INTERJ) hey!
heb (N) peace
heb bo (INTERJ) response to greeting
(‘peace still’)
heb su (INTERJ) greeting (‘peace
(question’)
həŋ, hɿ (PRO) 2F subject pronoun
(indicative)
həreŋ ku (N) charcoal (*ku* ‘fire’)
hí (PRO) 2PL subject pronoun
(indicative)
hindzɿ (N) three
híndzɿ? (N) this year
ho (ADJ) open
hob (NUM) two
hreyey ku (N) charcoal (*ku* fire)
hu (N) goat
hum (N) ear(s)
hwa (V) to guess, to foresee
hwa? (N) oracle

i

i (N, COMP, V) 1. eye(s); 2. comple-
mentizer with verb of saying; 3. to
insult
ì (PRO) 2F, 2M, or 2PL subject pro-
noun (formal subjunctive)
ì ... ní (PRO) 2PL subject pronoun
(informal subjunctive)
í- (PART) feminine singular *nomen*
agentis prefix (from *ya* female)
í-fray (N) god (‘one (fem.) above’)
í-kaw gaba (N) female healer (‘one
who grabs illness’)
í-kwra (N) female farmer
il (V) 1. to scoop up a liquid; 2. to
become fat

in (V) /*i-tsar gaba* to speak, to tell; *in*
kwá to read

i-tsar gaba (N) female healer (‘one
who raises illness’)

k

ka (Q) where (content question word)

kam (N) rest, remainder

kánki? (NUM) six

kar, kat (dial.) (V) to look at some-
thing

kar/tsar gaba (V) to heal some-
thing/someone

kávà (N) hoe

kaw (V) to grab, to catch

kàw bá (V) to care for the ill (‘grab
hand’)

kaw gába (V) to heal (‘stop illness’)

kawri (V) to arrive (‘grab place’)

kè (V) (copula)

keb (V) to look/search for, to fetch, to
bring

kerker (ADV) always, every time; all
night

keve (N) fish

kə (PREP) associative preposition

kəda (N) metal work

kəďām (ADJ) good, nice

kəďàn (COMP) about (assoc. preposi-
tion + ‘word’); purpose

kəɿ, kəɣ (V) to break (trans.)

(*kə*)*ki* (N) back(side), behind

kələŋ (ADJ) clean

kəlɿŋ (N) rat

kəmbat, kəmbar (ADJ) old (inanimate
object)

kənà (DEM) remote deictic demon-
strative

kəri (PART) at that point, as soon as
(ASSC + ‘time’)

kəri m̀̀ni (TEMP) when, after (*kəri* REL + PRO)
k̀̀sa? (ADJ) old (masc.)
k̀̀ta? (DEM) affirmative marker
k̀̀ ṭiki (ADJ) difficult ('with difficulty/problem')
k̀̀z̀́ (CF) counterfactual marker ('but it didn't happen')
k̀́ (ADJ) little, small, few
kim (N, V) 1. age (N); 2. age (N), live a long time
kis (NUM) 100
kor (PREP) in front of
k̀̀r (N) donkey
kpe (ADV) never
kpo? (ADV) further (Venberg 1975)
kramkram (IDEO) to careen around
krim (IDEO) to fall with a crash
kr̀̀t (V) to undress
ku (N) fire
k̀̀m (ADV) yesterday
kunə (DED, PRO) 1. plural deictic marker; 2. 3PL subject pronoun (subjunctive)
kuswa? (V) bless
kutók (ADJ) old (fem.)

kw

kwa (N) thing, object
kwáti (N) food ('thing to eat')
kwol (V) to wash (feet, clothing, head)
kóra (V) to farm, to cultivate

l

là? (V, PART, N) 1. to tell, to say; 2. conditional marker
lum (N) lion
l̀̀m̀̀ (N) market (Fulani *l̀̀umo* (Stennes 1967))

ɬ [tl]

ɬe (V) to take, pick up, gather, delete (singular object)
ɬ́w (N) meat
ɬor (N) poison
ɬum (V) to mix

ɟ [dl]

ɟay (V) to scold
ɟa? (V) to dance
ɟá? (V) realize
ɟe (V) 1. to start; 2. to pass by
ɟi (V) to smear; to blacken
ɟo(r) okra

m

ma (N) 1. woman (pl. *ráwkwà* 'many things'); 2. how (question word)
madak (N) amount, how much
màn (PRO) 1. 1SG possessor (alienable); 2. 1SG object (non-PERF)
màŋ (PRO) 2F possessor (alienable)
may (V) laugh
mẽ? (N) saliva; hunger
m̀̀ (PART) relative clause marker
m̀́ (PRO) 1PL subject (subjunctive)
m̀̀ (PRO) 3PL subject (subjunctive)
m̀̀tew (ADJ) brown, red
m̀̀sin (ADJ) other; different
mi (PART) negative marker (clause-final), preceded by clause-internal *tsu*
m̀̀ (PRO) 2PL possessor (alienable)
m̀́ (Q) what (question word)
motá (N) car (Fulani *m̀́ota*; Stennes 1967)
mo? (V) to bury
m̀̀m (PRO) 3M subject (indicative)
mun (V) to hear

mb

mbã (V) to respect someone

mbà (PRO) 1. 1PL object (PERF, non-PERF); 2. 1PL possessor (alienable, inalienable), OP

mbà (V) to come (towards the place of speech or deictic center)

mbi (N, V) 1. water (N); 2. to wash (hands or body)

mbir (N) milk (N)

mbúr (N) wound, injury (N)

mblam (N) road, path

mbók (PREP) between

mbraw (N) clothing, shirt

mbrí (ADJ) old, elder; large

mbu (N, NUM) 1. sack for carrying grain; 2. 1,000

mbúđ (N, V) 1. size (N); 2. to grow (intransitive)

mgb

mgbay (COMP) right now

mgbəmgbuŋ lumbar region, basin

mgbij (*mgbij*) (ADV; ONO) in chorus

mgbɔ? (N) leper (Venberg 1975)

n

na (1SG; IPRO) 1. 1SG subject pronoun (indicative); 2. Impersonal pronoun; 3. complementizer with verb of saying

nambà (PRO) 1PL subject pronoun (indicative)

nàn (PRO) 1SG object (PERF)

nàŋ (PRO) 2F object (PERF)

nāw (N) bovine; male bovine

náy? (DEM) masculine distal determiner

na (IPRO) impersonal pronoun

ne (V, ADP) 1. to give; 2. to run; 3. indirect object marker (adposition)

ně? (N) 1. hippopotamus; 2. curse, insult (N)

nə (DED) 1. masc. deducible referent marker; 2. masc. post-relative marker

nə (PRO) 3M subject pronoun (subjunctive)

ni (DEM, PRO) 1. masc. proximal determiner; 2. masc. proximal demonstrative 3. masc. resumptive pronoun

nì (PRO) 2PL object (PERF)

nù (PRO) 2M object (PERF)

nùm (PRO) 3M object (PERF)

nzà (N) fiancé(e)

nzaŋi (N) uncle

nzasəm his uncle

nzaŋin my uncle

nzasù your uncle

nzew (N) falcon

nd

ndá? (N) horse

ndàŋ (PRO) 1. 3PL object (PERF, non-PERF); 2. 3PL possessor (alienable, inalienable), OP

ndé (V) to fall

nde fyeŋ (V) to fall asleep

ndewa (V) to meet with, to encounter

ndá (COMP) comparative marker; 'like', 'similar to'

ndi (PRO) 3SG previously mentioned object of a preposition

ndór (N) rainy season

ndo? (V, N) 1. to complete, to finish; 2. end (N)

ndz [j]

- ndzar* (N) sister
ndzay (V) to pour grain
ndzər (N) wild vine-like plant
ndzər (N) brother
ndzi (N) 1. husband; 2. competence
ndzi (N/ADV) each other (used to code reciprocal or joint action)
ndzike (N) 1. iron; 2. hour (on a clock)
ndzin (N) story
ndzówkwá (N) men
ndzuk (N) large mouse
ndzuk wa (N) hat
ndzur (N) cousin

ŋ [ŋg]

- ŋ ~ àŋ* (PRO) 2F subject pronoun (informal subjunctive)
ŋak (N) 'crowned crane' (bird)
ŋã? (N) exactly
ŋgã (N) to tear, to rip open
ŋgo (N) dry tree (ready to be cut up for firewood)

ny [ɲ]

- nya* (N) 1. earth, ground; 2. country, e.g., *nyá Cameroun* 'country of Cameroon'
nyem (N) song
nyen (V) 1. to fill, to fulfill; 2. to light (a fire)
nyě gú (N) a hole in a tree
nyě tu (N) sperm
nyew (N) childhood, infancy
nyĩ (N) soul

o

- o* (V) to ask for, to request
õ (V) 1. to believe; 2. to adopt, to take care of
oho (INTERJ) yes (Fulani)

p

- pá?* (N) breast
pã (V) 1. to get out, to exit (singular subject); 2. to exceed, to surpass
par (V, N) 1. to remove, to pick up; 2. trade, commerce
pày (V) to search, to unearth
pày nya (V, N) to discover (lit. 'search ground')
pày zu (V, N) to explain (lit. 'search bottom')
pé (N) valley
pe (V) to hit
pemãŋ (V) to rest
pəpol (N) morsel of grain
pik (V) to spread (grain); to spray (water)
pla? (V) to push
po? (V) to pay for
pram (ADJ) better (Venberg 1975)
pulpul (IDEO) to boil, boiling
pum (V) to hit

r

- ráw* (QUANT) many
ráwkwà (N) women ('many things', sg. *má* 'woman')
rawti (N, PREP) 1. stomach; 2. inside (PREP)
ra? (V) to pick up, to gather (plural object)
rə (DEM) 1. fem. deducible reference marker; 2. fem. postrelative marker

rəḍà (N) bouillie (boiled grain dish)

rəkway (N) stranger

rí (ADJ, N, V) 1. ready to fall (as rain);
2. traditional necklace worn by
women

ri (N, V) 1. time, place; 2. to cut with a
scythe; 3. to be ready to fall (as rain);
4. to shape (clay or metal)

ri ba (N) bed ('place to lie')

rì (PRO) 2PL possessor (inalienable);
OP

rim (ADJ) rusty, blackened

rìn (PRO) 1SG possessor (inalienable);
OP

riy (PRO) 2F possessor (inalienable);
OP

riyá (N) arrow

riyà (N) afternoon; *riya hyéḅ* evening,
late afternoon

ri? (ADV) already

rù (PRO) 2M possessor (inalienable);
OP

ru (N, V) 1. game; 2. to play a game

rum (V) to deride, to gossip

rùm (PRO) 3M possessor (inalien-
able); OP

s/f [š]

sa (Q, V) 1. who (content question
word); 2. to spin cotton

sǎ (N) fur, hair; *sǎ wa* hair ('fur of the
head')

sǎ? (V) to congratulate; to value

sab (N) a large spear with a wide blade

sar (ADV) only, just, simply

sáy? (N) jealousy

sây? (PART) marker of obligation

ḡe? (N) 1. tooth; 2. egg

ḡeḍa? (N) seven

ḡemḍe (N) name

ḡyem (N) 1. foot, leg; 2. time, instance,
step (as in 'each time')

ḡyèn (N) sleep

sá (PRO) 1. 3F object (PERF, non-
PERF); 2. 3F possessor (alienable,
inalienable); 3. OP

sàday? (N) two days later; day after
tomorrow; *sàday? dáy?* three days
later

sàlà (N) pants, trousers

sàlay (N) money (English 'shilling', via
Hausa)

səmàndzì (N) man (pl. *ndzìwkwà* men)

sì (PART) clause-final marker of
assertive mood

ḡí (V) to hate

ḡì (N, V) 1. to smell; 2. odor

ḡin (N) work (see *ḡi ḡin* 'to work')

ḡin (V) to send

sinbeḍ (N) spirit (as in spiritual)

sin (ADJ) other; different

ḡinè (N) field

ḡinyek (N) chicken (male or female);
see *ḡulak* (masc.) and *ya sinyek* (fem.)

ḡifí (V) to smell something

ḡìw (N, ADV) tomorrow

ḡiya (N) parasite that causes schistosomiasis

so (N) house, home; village

so mā mbàrí (N) town, city ('village
that is large')

sò (N) bone

so? (ADJ) cold

sokò (N) thanks

sowā (N) people

srúm (N) small lance with a thin blade

sú (N) your mother (cf. *ya* 'mother')

su (PART) clause-final interrogative
marker

súk (V) to sit, to stay (singular subject)

súm (N) beer, wine

sum (PART) plural *nomen agentis*
marker

sw

swə (N) man, person, someone (pl.
sowã people)

t

ta (PRO) 3F subject pronoun (indicative)

tà (V) to walk, to go (towards a destination that is not the deictic center)

tá? (V) to show

tà? (PART) also, too

tak (V) to forbid

tám (N) today

tan (PREP) after, behind; trail, track

taw (ADV) only

tà (PRO) 3F subject pronoun (subjunctive)

ti (V, DEM) 1. to eat; 2. fem. proximal determiner; 3. fem. proximal demonstrative; 3. fem. resumptive pronoun

tímbi (N) calabash

titi (V) to hurt (intransitive) ('eat.eat')

tòŋ (ADJ) large

to? (ADJ) near

tràk (N) shoe(s)

trumtrum (IDEO) dishonest

tú (N) 1. body; 2. reflexive marker

tuk (V) to feel, to sense

tùkùl (N) stomach

ts [c]/tʃ [tʃ]

tsa (V) to stop (intrans.)

tsa (N) poverty

tsar (V) 1. to arise; 2. to raise up; 3. to come from; 4. stand

tsar gáḅ (V) to heal an illness

tsává (N) courtyard

tʃe (V) to drink

tʃéfadew? (NUM) nine

tʃep (ADJ) few

tʃet (ADJ) every, each, all

tʃet-tʃet (ADJ) all (for emphasis)

tʃi (V) to kill; to weave; to grow (intrans.), to sprout

tʃik (V, N) to tire, to wear out; problem, difficulty

tʃime (N) sheep

tʃin (V) to set down, to put

tʃinik (V) to stir something thick; to crank the steering wheel

tʃiriŋ (ADJ) deep

tʃi vun (V) to ask (*vun* 'mouth')

tʃi? (V) to cry

tsó? (N) drought

tsoḅ (N, V) 1. purchase (N); 2. to purchase (V)

tsóho? (NUM) eight

tsóp (ADV) first, before

tsrá? (IDEO) to fall into something

tsú (PART) negative particle, accompanied by clause-final *mì*

tsùwal (V) to cross, to traverse

tswə (V) to munch; to chew something crunchy

u

ú (N) guinea corn

ul (V) to cough

un (V) to make love; to have a sexual relationship

ùm (PRO) 1. 3M object (non-PERF); 2. 3M possessor (alienable)

ur (V) 1. to mount, to climb onto; 2. to raise child or animal

ur (N) pregnancy

urá? (ADJ) black

ufiya (N) fairy, witch

uza (N) rice ('cereal grass')

v

vad (V) to refuse

vat (NUM) five

vari (N) road, path

vay (N, PART) 1. child (pl. *dāw*); 2. small, young; 3. prenominal diminutive marker

vay gule (N) newborn child

ve (V) 1. to take; 2. to believe; 3. get along well

vədu (N) chief (Dari dial.)

vənà (N) mortar, metate (flat stone for grinding corn or peanuts)

vəswə (N) blood

vĩ (ADJ) vast, endless

vĩvĩ (N) insect (dung beetle)

vi? (V) to lose, to get lost

vrà? (V) 1. to give birth (to); 2. to be born

vú (N) salt

vun (N) mouth; language

vun duk (N) chest; heart (in the biblical sense; probably derived from *vun* 'mouth' + *duk* 'heart')

vun pa? (N) nipple (lit. 'mouth breast')

vun waza (N) hospital (lit. 'mouth cure')

w

wa (N) head

wafra (N) sky ('head above')

waza (N) medical treatment (pill, herb), cure

wāy (N, PN) three days ago; recent; *wāy zà? kúm-ú* day before yesterday

wà? (V) to want, to need

wè (V) to see, to know, to recognize (dialectal equivalent of *yè*)

wá (PART) imperfective aspect marker

wə (PREP) in, at, to

wədi (N) flower

wáta (N) last year

wu (V) to gulp down a liquid

wũ (PRO) 1. 2M object (non-PERF); 2. 2M possessor (alienable)

wum (V) to learn

wur (V) to get out, to exit (plural subject)

wuwú (N) a wind instrument (IDEO)

wù? (N, V) 1. snake; 2. to pour a liquid

y

ya (N, PART) 1. mother, female; 2. prenominal gender marker (fem.); 3. augmentative marker

ya hob (N) aunt (lit. 'mother two')

ya nāw (N) mama cow

ya sinyek (N) hen (female chicken)

yaw (N) miracle

ye (PART) modal particle coding permission, invitation

ye? (V) 1. to burn; 2. to vomit

yè (V) to know, to recognize, to see (dialectal equivalent of *wè*)

yè? (V) to cause oneself to vomit

yəya (ADD) Mama, Mom (term of address)

yii (N) squirrel

yo (PART) so, when (discourse connector; Fulani)

z/ʒ(y) [ž]

zá (N) darling, beloved

zà (N) grass

za? (V) to find, to realize

zàʔ (PART) plus (as in 'one plus one')
ʒè (N) river
ʒyè (N) peanut(s), spider
ʒep (N) seed
zà (PREP, PART) 1. under, below; 2.
 marker of reason clause ('because')
ʒi (N, V) 1. war, fight; 2. to fight, to
 make war; 3. to compete, to play a
 game; 4. to carry a load
ʒiʔ (N, V) to carry a load
zra (N) hole
zu (N) bottom part of something or
 someone
zùʔ (N, V) 1. mortar (bowl for grind-
 ing); 2. to grind something hard

zup (V) to prepare (grain or vegetable)
 for simmering

ʔ [']

ʔi (V) to insult

ʔna (V) to throw away

ʔna nyem (V) to sing ('throw a song')

ʔwá(ʔ) (ADJ, PART) 1. calm (ADJ); 2.
 still, yet

ʔway (V) to herd, to chase

ʔyá (V) to depart from the deictic cen-
 ter towards a destination

ʔyeŋ (V) 1. to gently release something;
 2. to talk in a weak voice

ʔyeŋʔ (ADV) quietly

English-Pévé Lexicon

1 Introduction

The English-Pévé lexicon is based on English translations of Pévé lexical items and morphemes. For morphemes for which there is no English equivalent, the English definition consists of a description of the grammatical category or grammatical function. The abbreviations used in the grammar and in the Pévé-English lexicon are also used below.

2 English-Pévé Lexicon

above, up	<i>fray</i>	augmentative marker	<i>ya</i> (also 'woman, wife, mother, female')
to acquire; to receive	<i>fe</i>	aunt	<i>ya hoḅ</i> (lit. 'mother two')
adopt, take care of	<i>ō</i>	back (body part)	<i>duḅ</i>
after, behind (PREP)	<i>dayna, tan, tʃer</i>	back(side)	<i>ki</i>
afternoon	<i>riyà; riya hyéb</i> 'evening, late afternoon'	bank of river	<i>dapà</i>
again	<i>faŋ</i>	basin, lumbar region	<i>mgbəmgbuŋ</i>
age (N, V)	<i>kim</i>	(to) be (copula)	<i>kè</i>
all, every, each	<i>tʃet, dán?</i>	be able to; can	<i>gàk</i>
alone	<i>sar</i>	beauty, goodness	<i>ḡày</i>
already (ADV, PART)	<i>ri?</i>	because	<i>zà</i>
also, too	<i>bra, tà?</i>	bed	<i>ri ba</i> ('place lie down')
always, every time	<i>kerker; tʃẽ?tʃẽ?</i>	beer, wine	<i>súm</i>
among	<i>màsin</i>	before, first	<i>tsóp</i>
amount, how much	<i>madák</i> (content question word)	behind, in back of	<i>(kə)ki</i>
and (CONJ)	<i>ḡay</i> (clausal conjunction)	believe	<i>dík; ō; ve</i>
angry, ugly, nasty	<i>brò?</i>	better (ADJ; Venberg 1975)	<i>pram</i>
answer a question (V)	<i>dám vun</i>	between	<i>mbòk</i>
arise	<i>tsar</i> ; also 'to raise' (transitive)	black	<i>urá?</i> (also 'blue', for which there is no distinct term in Pévé)
arrive; arrive at a place	<i>kawri, day, dayri</i>	blacken, smear	<i>lʒi</i>
arrow	<i>ríyá</i>	blacksmith	<i>bə-ri kàda</i> (masc.) ('one who shapes metal')
assertive marker (modal particle)	<i>si</i>	bless	<i>kuswa?</i>
ask	<i>tʃi (vun)</i> 'ask (a question)'; <i>o</i> 'ask for, request'	blood	<i>vəswa</i>
		body; reflexive marker	<i>tú</i>

- boil, boiling *pulpul* (IDEO)
 bone *sò*
 book *derwà*
 bottom part of something or someone
 zu
 bouillie (boiled grain dish) *rəbà*
 boule (solid dish made of boiled guinea
 corn) or food (in general) *fūn; fūn-
 táyta* 'boule without sauce'
 break (trans.) *káí, kəy*
 breast *pā?*
 broth made with cold water and grain
 gá?
 brother *ndzər*
 brown, red *mátew* (ADJ)
 brush, bushes *zá*
 brush, low trees *gā*
 build (a house) *dām*
 burn (V) *ye?*
 burrow (V); scrape away (dirt, grain,
 sand) *páy*
 bury *mo?*
 bushes, brush *gop*
 but (counterexpectation) *ámá* (Ar.)
 calabash *tímbi*
 call, name (V) *dé*
 calm (ADJ); still, yet *ṛwá(?)*
 car *motá* (Ful. *móota*; Stennes 1967)
 care (N) *gwet*
 care for, oversee (V) *dzi*
 careen around *kramkram* (IDEO)
 carpenter *bə-gay?* *gú* ('one who
 pounds wood')
 carry a load *zi?*
 cassava (manioc) *dʒidʒib*
 cause oneself to vomit *yě?*
 cereal, grain *u*
 center, heart *duk*
 charcoal *həreŋ ku* (*ku* 'fire')
 cheat, deceive *bu*
 chew something crunchy; munch *tswə*
 chief *dʒwə; vədu* (Dari dialect)
 child *vay* (pl. *dàw* 'children')
 childhood, infancy *nyew*
 (in) chorus (ADJ) *mgbiŋ mgbiŋ*
 (IDEO)
 circumcision *gwrá*
 clay *dənay*
 clean (ADJ) *kələŋ*
 climb onto, mount *úr*
 clothing, shirt, fabric *mbraw*
 cold (ADJ) *so?*
 come *mbə*
 compete; fight; play a game *zi*
 complete, finish; end (N) *ndo?*
 conditional marker *là?*
 congratulate; value (V) *sā?*
 conjunction (clausal) *ḃay*
 cook (V) *gi* (cook, make, do); *dí* (cook
 something hard; beat)
 corn, maize *bəfyeké*
 cough (V) *ul*
 courtyard *tsává*
 cousin *ndzur*
 crank (V) (to steer hard) *tsinik*
 crazy; mentally disturbed *gàám*
 credit, debt *bal*
 cross, traverse *tsùwal*
 crowd singing *mgbiŋ* (IDEO)
 crumbs *bubud'*
 cry (V) *tʃi?*
 cure (N), medical treatment (pill, herb)
 waza
 curse, insult (N) *ně?*
 curse, insult (V) *ge nə?*
 cut with a scythe *ri*
 dance (V) *ʒa?*
 darling, beloved (N) *zá*
 day, sun *fətà; fətà riya* 'twilight,
 evening'

day after tomorrow; two days later

sàday?; *sàday?* *dáy?* 'three days later'

deep *tsirij* ~ *tfirij*

depart, leave *ʔyá*;

descend, climb out of *dàm*

despise *dzùk*

different; other *māsìn* (ADJ)

difficult *tfiki*

diminutive marker *vay* ('child')

dirt *dày*

dishonest *trumtrum* (IDEO)

do, make *gi*

doctor (fem.) *i-kaw hwa?*, *i-kar hwa?*

dog *àdà*, *dá*, *dá* (dialectal forms)

donkey *kòr*

drink (V) *tfē*

drop (of liquid) (N) *dādol(o)*

drought *tsó?* (N)

drum (N) *dzyěw dzyěw* (small tom-tom); *blim*

dry season *fátá* (also 'day', 'sun')

each other *ndzì* (reciprocal or joint action)

ear(s) *hum*

earth, ground *nyã*

eat *ti*

egg *se?* ~ *fē?*

eight *tsóho?*

elephant *boknay*

every, each, all *tfēt-tfēt*

exceed *pã*

exactly *ɲã?*

exit (V) *pã* (sg.); *wur* (pl.)

explain *pày zu* (lit. 'search bottom')

eye(s) *i*

fairy, witch *ufiya*

falcon, hawk *dzyěw*

fall (V) *ndé*

fall into something, fall with a crash
tsrá? (IDEO), *krim* (IDEO)

farm (V), cultivate *kóra*

farmer *bə-kòrà* ('one who farms')

father, male *bá*

father (term of address) *bábá*

'(your) father' (the listener's father)

bù; alternate form: *ba wũ* 'father

2M.POSS' (see *bá* 'father')

'(your) mother' (the listener's mother)

sú (see *ya* 'mother')

fatten (grow fat) *il*

feel, sense (V) *tuk*

fem. gender marker *ma*, *ya*

fetch, bring *kəb*

few *tfēp*

field *sìnè* ~ *finè*

fight *yaw* (N, V); *ʒì* ('war'; 'make war')

fill *nyen*

find, realize *za?*

finish *gi ndo?* 'make end'

fire (N) *ku*

first, before *tfóp*

fish (N) *keve*

five *vať*

flower *wədí*

flute made from an animal horn *dub*

focus marker *na* (impersonal pronoun); *kə*

food *kwáti* ('thing to eat')

food; boule *fuɲ*

foot, leg *syem* ~ *fyem*

forbid *tak*

(dense) forest *dzì*

forget *dúm wa* ('lose head')

four *fědí?*

freeload (V); free meal *gã*

friend *bay*

from *daka*

fur *sǎ*

further *kpo?*

future tense marker *dà*
 game (version of *mankala*) *gay?*
 gather (trans.), pick up, pluck *dūr* (sg.);
 ra? (pl.)
 gather (intrans.); (re-)unite *ḡawa* (V)
 give *ne*
 give back, return (trans.) *ge dāwā*
 give birth to; be born *vrà?*
 gnat *gwā?*
 go *dā* 'go, travel'; *tā* 'walk'; 'go' (towards
 a destination)
 goat *hu*
 goat's call *bee* (ONO)
 god *í-fray* ('one (fem.) above'); *ba-fray*
 ('one (masc.) above')
 good, nice *kàdām*
 good, well, pretty *báy*
 goodness, beauty *ḡay*
 gossip (V); deride *rum*
 grab, stop something/someone *kaw*
 grain *u*
 grandfather (term of address) *bambí*
 grass *zà*
 (greeting) *hyeḡ su?* ('peace interr.');

 reply: *hyeḡ ḡo* ('peace PROM' ('peace
 indeed'))
 grind something hard *zù?*
 ground, earth *nyá*
 grow, sprout *tfi ~ tsi; mbúḡ*
 grow up, ripen *dʒaŋ*
 guess, foresee *hwa*
 guinea corn *ú*
 guinea fowl *dʒənàk*
 (dental) gum *dʒí*
 gulp down a liquid *wu*
 hair *sǎ wa* ('fur (of the) head')
 half-sibling *ḡaray*
 hand *ḡá*
 hat *ndzuk wa*
 hate (V) *fí*

he (3M subject) *mùm* (indicative); *nà*
 (subjunctive); *ni* (resumptive pro-
 noun); *nə* (postrelative marker)
 healer *bə-kaw gaḡ* (masc.); *i-kaw gaḡ*
 (fem.)
 heart; liver *dùk*
 help (V); repair (V) *gila?*
 her (3F object) *sá* (PERF, non-PERF)
 her (3F possessor) *sá* (alienable,
 inalienable)
 herd, chase *way?*
 here *ti* (fem.), *ni* (masc.) (proximal
 deictic determiners); *kəta?* (proximal
 deictic demonstrative)
 hers (3F possessive noun) *ta*
 hide (N), leather *bók*
 him (3M object) *nùm* (PERF); *ùm*
 (non-PERF)
 his (3M possessor) *ùm* (alienable);
 rùm (inalienable)
 his (3M possessive noun) *mùm*
 hit *pe; pum*
 hoe (N) *kávà*
 hole *zra*
 honeycomb *bedim*
 hop/skip around *dʒra?dʒrà?* (IDEO)
 horn (wind instrument) *wuwú* (ONO)
 horse *ndá?*
 hospital *vun waza* (N) (lit. 'mouth
 cure')
 hour (on a clock) *ndʒike* ('iron')
 house, home *só* (see also 'town, vil-
 lage')
 how (Q) *ma*
 how many (question about quantity)
 madák
 hundred *kis*
 hunger (N) *mě?*
 hunter *gáo*
 hurry (V) *yàr*

- hurt (intransitive V) *ti-ti* (reduplication of *ti* 'eat')
 hurt (transitive V), injure *gé kalam* 'make accident'
 husband, man *ndzi*; pl. *ndzíkwa*
 illness *gáb*
 imperfective aspect marker *wá*
 in, at *wə*
 in front of *kor*
 indirect object marker (adposition) *ne*
 inhabit, live in, sit, stay *súk* (sg); *gay?* (pl.)
 insect (dung beetle) *vivĩ*
 inside *rawti*; *dũ*
 insult (V) *?i*
 interrogative marker *su* (clause-final)
 itch *gwā?* (*tu*)
 it, her, him *ndi* (previously mentioned 3SG object of a preposition)
 [it is] *na* (final marker of the verbless clause)
 jealousy *sāy?*
 jump up and down *dām*
 kill; grow, sprout; weave *tfi*
 knife *àtsíw*
 know, recognize, see *wè, yè* (dialect variation)
 lake, pond *bara*
 lance (N) *sab* (large, with a wide blade); *srúm* (small, with a thin blade)
 large *tòŋ*
 last year *watá*
 laugh *may*
 learn *wum*
 leave behind *ar*
 leper (Venberg 1975) *mgbo?*
 lie down, spend time, spend the night *bà(r)*
 light (a fire) (V) *nyen*
 like (comparative marker) *ndá*
 lion *lum*
 little, small, few *kí*
 liver; heart *dùk*
 long (ADJ) *dzəràk*
 look for something *kar*; *kat* (dialectal)
 lose *dum*; *vi?* 'lose, get lost'
 love (N, V) *bə ~ ba*
 lumbar region *mgbamgbuy*
 make love; have a sexual relationship with *un*
 Mama (term of address) *yəya*
 man, husband *samàndzĩ*; pl. *ndzíkwa* 'men'
 man, person, someone *swə*; pl. *sowã* 'people'
 many; a lot *ráw*; *dáw?dāw?*
 market (Fulani *lúumo* (Stennes 1967)) *lúmò*
 masculine gender marker *ba*
 mat (N) *là?*
 me (1SG object) *nàn* (PERF); *màn* (non-PERF)
 meat *léw*
 meet with, encounter *ndewa*
 melon *džek* (small, with white flesh); *bò?* (smooth skin, yellowish flesh, must be cooked before eating)
 metal *kada*
 milk *mbir*
 mine (1SG possessive noun) *na*
 miracle *yaw*
 money ('shilling', English via Hausa) *səlay*
 monitor lizard *brùk*
 moon *tfer*
 morning *bàkà*
 morsel of grain *pəpol* (N)
 mortar (bowl for grinding) *zù?*

- mortar, metate (flat stone for grinding corn or peanuts) *vənà*
 mother *ya*; pl. *ráwkwà* ('many things')
 mountain *gway?*
 mouse *ndzuk ~ ndžuk* (large type)
 mouth, language *vun*
 much, very *džuku; báyrúm*
 mud, muddy ground *dram*
 munch; chew something crunchy *tswə*
 my (1SG possessor) *màn* (alienable); *rìn* (inalienable)
 name *syemde*
 nape of the neck (N) *dəwā*
 naughty *bě?, me?*
 near *to?*
 near, next to, beside *hay?*
 necklace (traditional; worn by women) *rí*
 negative marker *tsú ... mi* (clause-final)
 never *kpe mi*
 newborn child *vay gule*
 nice, good *kəðām*
 night *dukri*
 nine *těfadew?*
 nipple *vun pá?* (lit. 'mouth breast')
nomen agentis prefix (fem.) *í-*
nomen agentis prefix (masc.) *bə-, ba-*
nomen agentis prefix (pl.) *sum-*
 none; not one *dāw mi* (ADJ)
 now *gwa; go(o)* (consolatory expression); *mgbay* 'right now'
 okra *lzo(r)*
 old, elder *mbrí*
 old (ADJ) (inanimate) *kəmbat, kəmbar*
 old (ADJ, N, V) (animate) *kutók* (fem.); *kəsa?* (masc.)
 one (numeral) *dāw*
 only, just, simply *sar (ye); taw; taw sar*
 open (ADJ) *ho*
 oracle *hwa?*
 other, different *məsin*
 our (1PL possessor) *mbà* (alienable, inalienable)
 ours (1PL possessive noun) *nambà*
 oversee, care for *dži*
 pants, trousers *səlà*
 parasitic worm that causes schistosomiasis *fiya*
 pass *ʒe*
 pay for something *po?*
 peace *heβ*
 peanut(s) *zyè*
 people *sowā*
 perforations, small holes *fyek.fyek*
 permission, invitation (modal particle) *ye*
 pestle *dray? (zù?)*
 pick (pluck, gather) *dūr* (sg. subject); *ra?* (pl. subject); *be* 'pick small things' (pl. object)
 pierce *duluk*
 place (N) *ri*
 plant (V) *dzò?*
 play (a game) *ru; ʒi* ('fight')
 pluck, pick *bee*
 plural marker *kunə* (also 3PL subjunctive subject)
 plural *nomen agentis* marker *sum*
 plus (as in 'one plus one') *zà?*
 poison (N) *tor*
 pound grain with a mortar and pestle *dzòk*
 pound something hard *gay?*
 pour *ndzay* 'pour grain'; *wù?* 'pour a liquid'
 poverty *tə*
 praying mantis (insect) *daŋgráw?*
 prepare, get ready *gila? tu* ('prepare body')

- prepare food that requires stirring (e.g. boule) *dí*
 prepare (grain or vegetable) for simmering *zup*
 pretty, good, well *báy*
 problem, difficulty *tʃík* (N)
 promise, assurance (modal particle) *bo*
 purchase (N, V) *tsoʔ*
 push (V) *noʔ; plaʔ*
 quickly *gáʔrí (gáʔrí)*
 rain (N) *bùwò*
 rain (V) *bùwò fýén* ('rain fall')
 rainy season *ndór*
 raise, lift *tsar*; also 'arise, get up'
 raise (a child or an animal) *úr*
 ram (male sheep) *gám*
 rat *kálín*
 reach a place *dayri*
 read *in kwá*
 ready to fall (as rain) *rí*
 recent *wáy*
 red, brown *máʔew* (ADJ)
 refuse, turn down *vaʔ* (V)
 reimburse, give back, return (trans.) *ge dāwā*
 relative clause marker *mà*
 release gently *ʔyeʔ*
 remove, pick up *par*
 repeat *faʔ*
 reply, respond *dām; dām vun*: answer a question/person ('respond mouth')
 respect someone *mbā*
 rest (V) (see also 'sit', below) *pemāy*
 rest (N), remainder *kam*
 return to the place of origin *gewa* ('throw head')
 return to a place *faʔ*
 reunion *(ba)wa*
 rice *uza* ('cereal grass')
 rise, ascend, climb out of *dám*
 river *zè*
 road, path *vari; mblam*
 run (V) *ne*
 rusty, blackened *rim*
 sack for carrying grain *mbu*
 sadden, surprise *grin*; also 'be saddened/surprised'
 saliva; hunger (N) *mēʔ*
 salt *vú*
 scavenger *sod*
 scold *ʔay*
 scoop *il* (liquid); *dzòʔ* (something thick, such as boule)
 scratch (an itch) *gwāʔ (tu)*
 search for *pàʔ; keʔ*
 see, recognize, know *we, ye* (dial.); *kar*
 seed *zep* (N)
 self (reflexive marker) *tú* ('body')
 seven *fedāʔ*
 sew *dām (kwá)* ('pluck things')
 shape (clay or metal) *ri*
 she (3F subject) *ta* (indicative); *tà* (subjunctive); *ti* (resumptive pronoun); *rə* (postrelative marker)
 shed (N) *dap*
 sheep *tʃime; gám* 'ram'
 shield *be* (N)
 shoe(s) *tràk*
 shoot with an arrow *be*
 should (modal marker of obligation) *sáyʔ*
 show (V) *táʔ*
 side (N) *gaʔ*
 sing *ʔna nyem* ('throw a song')
 sister *ndzar*
 sit, stay, rest, inhabit *súk* (sg.); *gayʔ* (pl.)
 six *kánkiʔ*
 size *mbúd*

- sky *wafray* ('head above')
 slaughter *fól*
 slave (Mun. *byák*; Elders 2000) *byek*
 sleep (N) *fyèn*
 sleep, fall asleep (V) *nde.fyèn*
 small *dàre?*
 small, young (ADJ) *vay* ('child')
 small children (N) (diminutive) *dàwre*
 (*dàw* + *dóre?* 'children' + 'small')
 smear, blacken *lzi*
 smell, odor (N) *fí*
 smell (V (intransitive)) *fí, fífí*
 snake *wù?*
 sneak in *ɣey?*
 so, then (discourse connector) *yo*
 (Fulani)
 song *nyem*
 speak (i.e., be fluent in) a language *ge*
vun (lit. 'throw mouth')
 speak, talk, say, tell *in, dàn, là?*; *in dàn*
 'tell' ('say word')
 speak weakly, whisper *ɣey*
 spider *zyè*
 spin cotton *sa*
 spirit (as in spiritual) *sinbed* (N)
 sprout (V) *tí*
 squirrel *yí*
 start; launch (V) *ʒe*
 step (N), foot, leg *fyem*
 stepmother *i-nzà*
 still, yet *bo*
 stir something thick *tsinik*
 stomach (N) *tùkùl*
 stop (intrans.) *tsa*
 stop (trans.) *kaw*
 story *ndžín*
 stranger *rəkway*
 strong, forceful *gbàgbón*
 suit (V), go well together *ve*
 sun, day *fàtà*
 take *te* (sg.); *ve*
 tall *džáj*
 tear, rip open *ngà*
 tell, say *là?*
 ten *guḃ*
 ten times *gu-*, e.g. *guhoḃ* 'twenty' ('ten times two')
 tent, shelter *dzyew*
 thanks *sokò*
 that (I.PRO) *na, í*
 that (distal determiner) *dáy?* (fem.);
náy? (masc.)
 their (3PL possessor) *ndày* (alienable, inalienable)
 theirs (3PL possessive noun) *handày*
 them (3PL object) *ndày* (PERF, non-PERF)
 then (anaphoric), next *gwa?*
 then (deictic), at that moment *kəri*
rùm (ASSC+place 3M.POSS)
 there (non-deictic location) *han*
 (DEM)
 there (distal deictic demonstrative)
kànà
 these (proximal determiner) *ni kunə*
 (masc. + PL)
 they (3PL subject) *handày* (indicative); *kunə* (subjunctive)
 thick, sturdy *gwri?*
 thing, object (N) *kwa*
 this (proximal determiner) *tí* (fem.), *ni*
 (masc.)
 those (distal determiner) *náy?* *kunə*
 (masc. + PL)
 thousand *mbu*
 three *híndži?*
 three days ago; recent *wāy; wāy zà?*
kúm-ú 'day before yesterday'
 throw *ge* (at a target); *ʒna* 'throw away'

tie something *dzyèw*
 time, instance ('each time') *syem ~ fjem*
 time, place (N) *ri*
 tire, wear out *tʃik*
 to (purpose), in order to, so that *kádàn*
 tobacco *dàbā?* (Fr. *tabac*)
 today *tám* (N)
 together *ndʒi* (also 'each other')
 tomorrow *fʃw*
 too, also *bra*
 tooth *se? ~ fè?*
 touch (V) *dāk*
 town, city *so mə mbəri* ('village that is large')
 trade (N), commerce *par*
 trail, track (N) *tan*
 tree *gú; ŋgo* (dry tree, to be used as firewood)
 trip *vari rəkway* ('road stranger')
 trust (N) *vunduk* (probably derived from *vun* 'mouth' + *duk* 'heart')
 twilight *fətà rɪya*
 two *hob*
 ugly, nasty, angry *brò?*
 (my) uncle *nzaʃin*
 (his) uncle *nzasəm*
 (your) uncle *nzasù*
 under, below, because *zà*
 undress *krùt*
 unearth, dig up *pày*
 until (Hausa) *há*
 up, above *fray*
 us (1PL object) *mbà* (PERF, non-PERF)
 valley *pé* (N)
 vast, endless *vĩ* (ADJ)
 village *so* (see also 'house, home')
 vomit *ye?* (V)

waist *fi*
 wait (for someone/something) *byek; dʒi wa*
 walk, go (towards a destination) *tà*
 want, need *wà?*
 war *ʒi*; also 'make war'
 wash *kwol* (feet, clothing, head); *mbi* (hands or body)
 water *mbi*
 we (1PL subject) *[na]mbà* (indicative); *má* (subjunctive)
 wealth *dòknay*
 weapon (traditional) *brà*
 weave *tʃi*
 weed *zà* (N)
 what (Q) *mi*
 when (Q) *kə ma* (ASSC 'what')
 when, after (Q) *kəri mənɪ* (ASSC-place/time REL + DED)
 where (Q) *ka*
 white, whiteness *bú*
 whitish *fol*
 who (Q) *sa*
 why (question word) *zà mi* ('under what')
 witch, fairy *ufiya*
 with, while *kə* (associative preposition)
 within, inside *dù; rawtí*
 without *dan*
 woman, female *ya* (sg.) *ráwkwà* (pl. 'many things')
 word *dàn* (also 'speak')
 work (N) *ʃin*
 work (V) *gi ʃin*
 wound, injury (N) *mbír*
 yes *awo; oho* (Fulani)
 yesterday *kúm*
 you (fem.) (2F subject) *háŋ, hʃ* (indicative); *əŋ, ɲ* (subjunctive)

you (fem.) (2F object) *nàŋ* (PERF);
màŋ (non-PERF)
 you (masc.) (2M subject) *ha* (indicative); *à* (subjunctive)
 you (masc.) (2M object) *nà* (PERF);
wũ (non-PERF)
 you (pl.) (2PL subject) *hí* (indicative); *ì*
 (subjunctive)
 you (pl.) (2PL object) *nì* (PERF); *mì*
 (non-PERF)

your (fem.) (2F possessor) *màŋ* (alienable); *rìŋ* (inalienable)
 your (masc.) (2M possessor) *wũ* (alienable); *rù* (inalienable)
 your (pl.) (2PL possessor) *mì* (alienable); *rì* (inalienable)
 yours (fem.) (2F possessive noun) *háŋ*,
hŋ
 yours (masc.) (2M possessive noun) *ha*
 yours (pl.) (2PL possessive noun) *hí*

References

- Abdoullaye, Hamadjoda (Alhadji), & Eldridge Mohammadou. 1979. *Ray ou Rey-Bouba, Les Yillaga de la Benoue*. Yaoundé, Ministère de l'information et de la culture.
- Améka, Felix K. 2003. Prepositions and postpositions in Ewe: Empirical and theoretical considerations. In A. Zibri-Hetz, & P. Sauzet (eds.), *Typologie des langues d'Afrique et universaux de la grammaire*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 43–66.
- Améka, Felix K., & Steven C. Levinson (eds.). 2007. The typology and semantics of locative predication: Posturals, positionals and other beasts [Special Issue]. *Linguistics*, 45 (5). <http://hdl.handle.net/11858/00-001M-0000-0013-16A0-7> (17 April 2019).
- Barreteau, Daniel, & Yves Le Bléis. 1990. *Lexique mafa: Langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun*. Paris: Geuthner-ORSTOM.
- Bril, Isabelle. 2010. Clause linking and clause hierarchy: Syntax and pragmatics. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Caron, Bernard. 2015. Zaar grammatical sketch. Esquisse grammaticale du Zaar (langue tchadique du Nigéria). (10.1075). (halshts-00647526v3)
- Caron, Bernard. 2012. Hausa grammatical sketch. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281185351_Hausa_Grammatical_Sketch (17 April 2019).
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, Koye Nadji. 1984. *Lexique zime-français: vun tãri, parler de Dari, Mayo-Kebbi (Tchad)*. Adaptation du lexique en *vùn dzàpàò* (Sachnine 1982).
- Corum, Micah. 2013. Locative predication in Nigerian Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English. Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Hamburg.
- Creissels, Denis. 2008. Remarks on so-called 'conjunct/disjunct' systems. Paper presented at the conference *Syntax of the world's languages III*, Berlin.
- Elders, Stefan. 2000. *Grammaire mundang*. CNWS Publications 97. Leiden: CNWS.
- Fischer, M.P.R. 1980. *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Mesme: Text, grammatische Skizze und Vokabular*. Unpublished MA thesis, Philipps-Universität, Marburg/Lahn.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 2018. Locative predication in Chadic: Implications for linguistic theory. In Mauro Tosco (ed.), *Afroasiatic: Data and perspectives*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 303–233.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 2016a. Modality and mood in Chadic. In Johan van der Auwera & Jan Nuyts (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Modality*, 258–295. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 2016b. Inflectional markers of sentential parsing. *Lingua*: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2016.05.004> (17 April 2019).
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 2012. *A grammar of Wandala*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter (Mouton Grammar Library).

- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 2008. *A grammar of Gidar*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 2001. *A grammar of Lele*. W.R. Leben & Larry M. Hyman (eds.), Stanford Monographs in African Languages. Stanford, California.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1996. Relative clauses. *Grammaticalization of the complex sentence: A case study in Chadic*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, 415–406.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1993. *A grammar of Mupun*. Berlin: Reimer. 538 pp.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1989. *A grammar of Pero*. Berlin: Reimer. 306 pp.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, with Robert Jasperson. 1991. 'That' clauses and other complements. *Lingua* 83: 133–153.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, & Eric Johnston, with Adrian Edwards. 2005. *A grammar of Mina*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, & Tamar Katriel. 1991. Functions of propositional relators. In Alan Kaye (ed.), *Semitic studies in honor of Wolf Leslau*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 449–461.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, & Erin Shay. 2016. *The role of functions in syntax: A unified approach to language theory, description, and typology*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, & Erin Shay. 2003. *Explaining language structure through systems interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, with Erin Shay. 2002. *A grammar of Hdi*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hansen, Maj-Britt Mosegaard, & Erling Strudsholm. 2008. The semantics of particles: Advantages of a contrastive and panchronic approach: A study of the polysemy of French 'déjà' and Italian 'già'. *Linguistics* 46(3): 471–505.
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, & Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jaggar, Philip J. 1988. Guruntum (Gùrdùṅ), West Chadic-B: Linguistic notes and word-list. *African Languages and Cultures* 1(2): 169–189.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 2003. Altrilocality in Tangale and Tuareg. In Erin Shay & Uwe Seibert (eds.), *Motion, direction, and location in languages: In honor of Zygmunt Frajzyngier*, 123–128.
- Jungraithmayr, Hermann. 1978. The Zimé dialect cluster ('Kado', 'Dari') in Southern Chad: Its verbal aspect system. *Afrika und Übersee*, Band LXI: 1–27.
- Kossmann, Maarten. 2012. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Erin Shay (eds.), *The Afroasiatic languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 18–101.
- Lami, Pierre. 1930–1940. Histoire de la chefferie pévé de Lamé. <http://tabayrum.wordpress.com/histoire-de-la-chefferie-peve-de-lame> (17 April 2019).
- Melis, Antonino. 1999. *Description du Masa (Tchad): Phonologie, syntax, et dictionnaire encyclopédique*. Doctoral thesis, University of Tours.
- Moltmann, Friederike. 2013. Identificational sentences. *Natural Language Semantics*, 21(1), 43–77.

- Newman, Paul. 2013. The Chadic language family: Classification and name index (electronic publication). Mega-Chad Research Network. <http://hdl.handle.net/2022/20964> (17 April 2019)
- Newman, Paul. 2000. *The Hausa language. An encyclopedic reference grammar*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Newman, Paul. 1990. Nominal and verbal plurality in Chadic. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris.
- Newman, Roxana Ma, & Vincent J. Vanheuver. 1981. An acoustic and phonological study of pre-pausal vowel length in Hausa. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 3: 1–18.
- Palmer, F.R. 2001. *Mood and modality: Second edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Riemsdijk, Henk van. 1990. Functional prepositions. In H. Pinkster & I. Genée (eds.), *Unity and Diversity: Papers presented to Simon C. Dik on his 50th birthday*. Dordrecht: Foris, 231–241.
- Sachnine, Michka. 1982. Le lamé (vùn dzàpàò): Un parler zime du Nord-Cameroun (langue tchadique), vol. 1: Phonologie et grammaire; vol. 2: Dictionnaire lame-français; lexique français-lame. Paris: SELAF.
- Sachnine, Michka. 1978. Présentation d'un conte d'un parler zime du Cameroun: Le vùn dzàpàw. In Jungraithmayr, H. & J.-P. Caprile (eds.), *Cinq textes tchadiques (Cameroun et Tchad)*. Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 213–247.
- Sachnine, Michka. 1976. Notes sur le zime (lame) parlé au Cameroun. *Africana Marburgensia IX.1*: 71–86.
- Schuh, Russell G. 2017. A Chadic cornucopia by Russell G. Schuh. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5zx6z32d> (17 April 2019).
- Shay, Erin. 2015. Deducible reference and how we deduce it. Presentation at the conference *CorTypo: Référentialité*, Paris.
- Shay, Erin. 2014. Derivation in Afroasiatic. In Rochelle Lieber and Pavel Stekauer (eds.), *Oxford handbook of derivational morphology*, 573–590.
- Shay, Erin. 2012. Ms. *A grammar of Giziga*. 400 pp.
- Shay, Erin. 1999. *A grammar of East Dangla: The simple sentence*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Colorado, 662 pp.
- Smith, D. 1969. *The Kapsiki language*. Ph.D. dissertation. Michigan State University.
- Stennes, Leslie H. 1967. *A reference grammar of Adamawa Fulani*. African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 285 pp.
- Venberg, Rodney, et al. 1985. *Dan kaw vun mā mbərewē (le nouveau testament en langue Pévé)*. Alliance Biblique du Cameroun, 668 pp.
- Venberg, Rodney. 1975. Phonemic statement of the Pévé language. *Africana Marburgensia IX.1*: 26–43.

Venberg, Rodney. Ms., 1971. Tentative grammatical statement of the Pévé language.

Venberg, Rodney. Ms. A study of the pronouns in Pévé.

Wolff, Ekkehard. 2006. Encoding topography and direction in the verbal systems of Lamang and Hdi (Central Chadic). In P. Newman & L.M. Hyman (eds.), *West African Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Russel G. Schuh* (Studies in African Linguistics Suppl. 11), 221–250.

Index

The following index focuses on topics and references that are not listed as entries or subentries in the Table of Contents (pp. v–ix). The index is based on the following: reference to authors cited in the text; reference to languages other than Pèvé that are mentioned in the text; and reference to grammatical forms and functions that are not common to all grammatical descriptions and whose position in the text may therefore not be obvious to the reader.

- Abdoullaye, Hamadjoda (Alhadji) 4
 Améka, Felix K. 117, 176
 assertive mood 157, 168, 170, 174, 175, 239
- Bad dis Sem 9
 Barreteau, Daniel 54
 beneficiary 14, 118, 131, 132, 133, 134, 137, 269
 Bril, Isabelle 138
- Caron, Bernard 16, 176, 195
 Comrie, Bernard 148, 195
 controlling vs. non-controlling subject 14, 128, 129
 Cooper, Koye Nadjji 3, 7
 Corum, Micah 176
 Creissels, Denis 138, 280
- Dari 1, 2, 3, 7, 22, 33
 Dzəbao (Vün Dzəbao, Djipa, Dzəbao, Djibaw, Dzibaw, Jibaw) 1–8, 22
- Elders, Stefan 32, 333
- Fischer, M.P.R. 3
 Frajzyngier, Zygmunt 11, 13, 18, 21, 37, 54, 55, 58, 61, 66, 86, 158, 176, 187, 236, 247, 248, 253, 268, 270, 273, 277, 280
 Fulfulde (Fula, Fulani, Fulbe) 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 57, 95, 248, 303
 functional relationships 13, 103
- Gidar 66
 Giziga 86, 158, 219
 Gumadji 6
 Guruntum 195
- Hansen, Maj-Britt Mosegaard 164
 Hausa 16, 96, 176, 195, 236, 303
 Hdi 176
- Heine, Bernd 87
 Herdé 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 22
- Jaggär, Philip 195
 Jungraithmayr, Hermann 1, 2, 7, 187
- Kapsiki 158
 known referent 16, 17, 213, 253
 Kossmann, Maarten 83
- Lamé 1–8, 22, 33, 107, 180, 181
 Lami, Pierre 4
 Lele 176, 273
- malefactive 14, 118, 131, 133, 137, 269
 Masa 5, 22, 195
 Melis, Antonino 5
 Mesmé (Mesme) 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 22
 Mina 158, 236
 Moltmann, Friederike 195
 Mundang 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 32, 99, 247, 288, 303
- neuter subject 108
 Newman, Paul 1, 54, 75, 195, 236
 non-controlling vs. controlling subject 104, 128, 129, 136, 137
 non-subject pronoun/argument 12, 15, 19, 20, 111, 112, 116, 127, 130, 138, 246, 254
- object of perception 14, 137
- Palmer, F.R. 158
 Payne, Thomas E. 148
 Pero 13, 66
 promise mood 157, 168, 361
- Riemsdijk, Henk van 117
- Sachnine, Michka 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 33
 Schuh, Russell 195

- Smith, D. 158
Stennes, Leslie H. 337, 345, 348, 384
suppletive plural 77, 78, 83

unaffected vs. affected object 14, 128, 137
unknown referent 16, 17, 213, 253
urgency (speaker's perspective) 158, 161,
163, 308

Venberg, Rodney 1, 2, 7, 29, 39, 46, 47, 101,
337, 338, 339, 344, 348

Wolff, Ekkehard 187
Wandala 55, 58, 61, 65, 241

Zaar 16, 198
Zimé 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 22

Abstracts

Chapter 1: The Pévé Language

Abstract

A Grammar of Pévé is the first full description of the Pévé language, a member of the Chadic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family. Pévé, a tonal language of the Masa branch of Chadic, is spoken in parts of the southwestern area of the Republic of Chad and the Northern province of the Republic of Cameroon. This chapter discusses the nomenclature and classification of the Pévé language and provides an outline of the grammar that is described in greater detail throughout the volume.

Chapter 2: Phonology

Abstract

This chapter describes and analyzes the rich phonological system of Pévé, which includes simple and complex stops, fricatives, affricates, continuants, glottalized stops, lateral fricatives, and five phonemic vowels. The language distinguishes among three tones (high, mid, and low), which play a major role in the lexicon. Unlike in many Chadic languages, tone in Pévé plays a relatively small role in the grammatical system, where the chief role of tone in the grammatical system is the coding of perfective aspect by means of high tone on the verb.

Chapter 3: Parsing Morphology

Abstract

The term ‘parsing morphology’ refers to the alternation between phrase-internal forms and phrase-final forms and the functions they perform. Many lexical and grammatical morphemes in Pévé show an alternation between the phrase-internal form and the phrase-final form, which consists of the phrase-internal form with an added final vowel. Use of the phrase-final form of a given morpheme tells the listener that the morpheme is the final component of the grammatical constituent to which it belongs, while a morpheme in phrase-internal form tells the listener to expect more material within the same constituent.

Chapter 4: Verbs

Abstract

A verb is defined in this chapter as a form that can serve, without additional marking, as the predicate of a verbal proposition. The chapter describes the phonological structure of verbs; verbal morphology; forms and functions of compound verbs; nominalized verbs; and verbs that encode the number (singular or plural) of certain participants in the clause.

Chapter 5: Nouns and the Noun Phrase

Abstract

A noun is defined here as a lexical item that functions, without additional marking, as an argument of a verbal or verbless predication. This chapter describes the phonological structure of nouns in Pévé, the morphology of nouns, the derivation of nouns from other lexical categories, and the structures and functions of various types of noun phrases. The chapter also describes the forms and functions of various lexical and grammatical morphemes used to modify nouns, including adjectives, determiners, possessive pronouns, numerals, and quantifiers.

Chapter 6: Coding Grammatical Relations

Abstract

This chapter describes the means of coding the grammatical relations of subject, object, and indirect object in perfective and non-perfective simple sentences. Because there is no distinction between direct object pronouns and indirect object pronouns in Pévé, the terms 'direct object' and 'indirect object' refer here to the grammatical relations between the verb and its arguments rather than to the form of the pronoun that represents an argument. An important feature of Pévé is that the coding of grammatical relations is inseparable from the coding of tense, aspect, and mood. Different linear orders and different pronoun forms are used in different tenses, aspects, and moods, and in some cases the choice of pronoun form and/or the linear order of constituents is the only means of coding tense, aspect, or mood.

Chapter 7: Coding Semantic Relations

Abstract

In Pév , semantic relations within a clause depend on inherent properties of the predicate and the arguments, linear order of constituents, use of serial verb constructions, presence or absence of other arguments, use of prepositions, and use of adjuncts. The semantic role of the subject in a construction may be controlling or non-controlling, affected or unaffected, while the semantic role of a direct object may be that of the affected object or the object of perception. Semantic roles of the indirect object include recipient, beneficiary, malefactive, addressee, and others.

Chapter 8: Tense and Aspect

Abstract

An important feature of P    is that the coding of grammatical relations is inseparable from the coding of tense, aspect, and mood. Different linear orders and different pronoun forms are used in different tenses, aspects, and moods, and in some cases the choice of pronoun form and/or the linear order of constituents is the only means of coding tense, aspect, or mood. P    codes only one tense, namely the future tense. The language codes a number of aspectual distinctions, including perfective aspect, imperfective aspect, progressive aspect, and the unmarked tense/aspect, whose interpretation depends on context. This chapter describes the grammatical means of coding tense and aspect and the interaction of those means with the coding of grammatical relations.

Chapter 9: Mood and Modality

Abstract

This chapter describes forms and functions in the domains of deontic and epistemic modality in P   . The imperative and subjunctive moods, which belong to the domain of deontic modality, may be marked by the use of a subject pronoun from the subjunctive set (see chapter 6), object pronouns from the perfective/subjunctive set (*ibid.*), dedicated clause-final or clause-initial particles or, in the imperative mood, by the absence of an overt subject. Pronouns used in the epistemic modality are from the indicative set, not the subjunctive set, and may co-occur with various markers of tense

or aspect. The chapter addresses two subdomains within the epistemic mood, namely 'promise mood' and 'assertive mood', both of which are coded by clause-final markers. The promise mood conveys the speaker's certainty that a future event will take place, while the assertive mood conveys the speaker's desire that the hearer believe that a given event or state did occur, is occurring or will occur.

Chapter 10: Locative Expressions and Locative Predications

Abstract

The term 'locative expression' refers to a wide range of means for describing the presence of an entity in a location, the occurrence of an event in a location, the movement of an entity towards or away from a location, movement over or under an entity, etc. It is likely that all languages have locative expressions. A language with locative predication, however, has a dedicated means of indicating that an element or event is at a certain place or has moved to or from a certain place. This chapter provides evidence for the existence of locative predication in Péré and describes the coding means used in locative predications and the functions they perform. The chapter also describes the semantic properties of various means used in locative expressions, including locative predicates, locative and directional prepositions, and serial verb constructions (SVCs) with locative functions.

Chapter 11: Verbless and Copular Clauses

Abstract

This chapter describes the forms and functions of verbless and copular clauses in various domains, including identificational predication, equational predication, attributive predication, and possessive predication. Forms that mark these functions include the clause-final impersonal pronoun *na* and the clause-internal copula *kè*, both of which are described in the chapter.

Chapter 12: System of Reference

Abstract

The domain of reference in Pévé includes the following subdomains: first mention of an entity; deducible reference, whereby the referent can be deduced by the hearer even if the referent is not visible and has not been previously mentioned; anaphoric reference, i.e. reference to an entity, location, time, or characteristic that has been previously mentioned in discourse; and deictic reference, which indicates the position of a place, entity, or point in time with respect to the time and place of speech. The means of coding reference within these domains include the bare noun phrase; pronouns; the absence of overt marking of the participant; two sets of determiners, namely anaphoric and deictic; and two sets of demonstratives (proximal and distal).

Chapter 13: Interrogatives

Abstract

This chapter describes the means used in Pévé to code polar ('yes/no') questions and content questions. All interrogatives are characterized by the presence of the clause-final particle *su*. The coding of grammatical roles in the interrogative clause is the same as that in the affirmative clause, with the exception of certain verbless interrogatives concerning the identity of the deictic subject. Content questions code the following distinctions: human constituent; non-human, inanimate or abstract constituent; manner; place; reason; and means.

Chapter 14: Negation

Abstract

This chapter describes the means of negating verbal and verbless indicative clauses in Pévé. All attested negative clauses are marked by the negative particle *mì* in clause-final position. In most negative clauses the marker *mì* is accompanied by the negative particle *tsú*, which follows the subject noun or pronoun and precedes the verb. The means that are used to code tense and aspect in the negative clause are the same as those used in the affirmative clause. The clause-final marker *mì* also marks negation in the prohibitive clause.

Chapter 15: Topicalization and Focus

Abstract

This chapter describes the coding of topicalization and focus in Pévé. In all examples the topicalized constituent is clause-initial and plays a grammatical role in the comment clause. The grammatical role of the topicalized constituent may be marked by a resumptive pronoun or may be deduced from the presence or absence of other constituents in the clause. The category 'focus' encompasses both contrastive focus, in which the focused element is implicitly compared with other elements that could have been used in the construction but were not used, and non-contrastive focus, in which the focused element is marked as being more salient than other elements of the construction. The grammatical function of the focused element is coded by the same means used in the neutral clause. The focused constituent is *in situ*, unlike the fronted topicalized constituent.

Chapter 16: Conjoined Clauses

Abstract

Pévé has several means of conjoining clauses. These include a coordinating conjunction that may involve one or more conjunctive morphemes as well as coordination through subject omission. Unlike many Chadic languages, Pévé has a dedicated coordinating conjunction, corresponding to 'and', which conjoins clauses that involve shared participants or events. The same conjunction can be used as a discourse connector. The conjunction *amá* 'but', an Arabic borrowing that is common in Chadic languages, indicates that the event of the second clause is unexpected.

Chapter 17: Relative Clauses

Abstract

This chapter describes the means of marking grammatical functions within the relative clause and the means of marking the grammatical role of the relative clause within a larger construction. In Pévé, the relative marker *mà* (glossed 'REL') immediately follows the head noun and may then be followed by a resumptive pronoun (glossed 'R.PRO') reflecting the gender and number of the head of the relative clause. The resumptive pronouns are *ti* (fem.) and *ni* (masc., pl.), identical with the proximal deictic demon-

stratives and determiners described in chapter 12. The head noun and the relative clause together form a noun phrase whose grammatical role in a larger construction is marked by a preposition or by the position or the relative clause with respect to other constituents. In some cases, but not all, the relative clause is followed by one of the deducible reference determiners *rə* (f.), *nə* (m.), or *kunə* (pl.), described in chapter 12.

Chapter 18: Conditional and Temporal Constructions

Abstract

Conditional and temporal constructions in Pévé have the basic structure Protasis+Apodosis, where the protasis clause provides the conditional or temporal setting for the event described by the apodosis clause. The conditional protasis clause is marked by the form *làʔ* and the clause-final assertive marker *si*. There is no designated marker for the conditional apodosis clause. The temporal protasis clause is marked by the clause-initial phrase *kəri məní*, sometimes reduced to *kəri* or *məní*. Like the conditional apodosis, the temporal apodosis has no designated marker. The assertive marker *si* (see chapter 9) plays a role in protasis and apodosis clauses in both conditional and temporal constructions, as explained in this chapter.

Chapter 19: Complementation

Abstract

This chapter describes constructions involving a matrix clause and a complement clause that may function as an independent clause, an argument of the matrix-clause verb, or a modifier of the matrix-clause verb. Included are clausal complements of verbs of saying, cognition, perception, and volition, as well as modifying complements of verbs corresponding to ‘to be able’, ‘to start’, ‘to finish’, ‘to spend the day/night’, ‘to help’, and ‘to make’. Pévé has grammaticalized what may be a unique function, that of indicating that the speaker’s desire or belief expressed in the matrix clause was unrealized. This function, called the ‘counterfactual matrix’, is coded by the complementizer *kəzə*. Unlike in many languages, constructions in Pévé involving frequently used verbs of saying do not necessarily distinguish between direct and indirect speech. However, constructions involving verbs of cognition and perception do code a distinction between direct and indirect cognition or perception.

Chapter 20: Comparative Constructions

Abstract

This chapter describes constructions comparing the properties or actions of one argument (the target) with those of another argument (the basis). The property or action involved is referred to as the standard of comparison. The coding means in comparative constructions include the comparative marker *ndó* 'like', which follows the target and precedes the basis; the verb *pā* 'to exceed, to surpass', used when the target exceeds the basis with respect to the standard of comparison; and the verb *dāy* 'to arrive', used when the basis exceeds the target.

Chapter 21: Adjunct Phrases and Clauses

Abstract

An adjunct is defined here as a lexical item, phrase, or clause that can be added to virtually any construction, provided the meaning of the adjunct does not contradict or reiterate functions coded within the larger construction. An adjunct can be added to or deleted from a construction without altering grammatical relationships within the construction. A lexical item that functions as an adjunct without additional marking, i.e., without a preposition, is considered an inherent modifier. The scope of the inherent modifier is the entire clause, as opposed to only the verb. Adjuncts described in this chapter include inherent modifiers, other lexical items marked for the modifying function, and purpose and reason clauses.

Chapter 22: Sample Texts

Abstract

This chapter contains two sample texts: a traditional Pévé folktale, as told by Lazare Wambadang, and a non-fiction narrative of the speaker's travel across northern Cameroon. The author and collaborator worked together to record, transcribe, analyze and translate the lexical and grammatical morphemes used in the texts.

Pévé-English Lexicon

Abstract

The Pévé-English lexicon is organized according to the International Phonetic Alphabet, with a few additions and exceptions. Abbreviations are used in the lexicon as they are in the text. As shown in chapter 2 (Phonology), there are a number of free variations in pronunciation, especially in morphemes that begin with a stop or fricative followed by a high or mid front vowel. In the Pévé-English lexicon, the Pévé form in the left-hand column represents the native speaker's perception of the underlying form. Needless to say, the lexicon does not represent a complete list of lexical items and morphemes in the Pévé language; there are many more to be examined and described. The items listed in this chapter represent those attested in the data and others whose forms and/or translations may be of interest to the reader.

English-Pévé Lexicon

Abstract

The English-Pévé lexicon is arranged according to English translations of Pévé lexical items and morphemes. When a morpheme has no English equivalent, the left-hand column contains a description of the grammatical category or grammatical function of the form in Pévé. The right-hand column of the English-Pévé lexicon includes the underlying form and free variations as recorded and transcribed by the author and collaborator.